

PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!



Chairman Gonzalo

SELECTED READINGS
FROM THE WORKS OF
GONZALO

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INTRODUCTION

Chairman Gonzalo, *nom de guerre* of Dr. Abimael Guzmán, Chairman of the Communist Party of Peru, will forever be remembered as one of the greatest Marxist-Leninist-Maoists of the 21st century. Throughout his life, he fought implacably against imperialism, revisionism and all reaction, leading the effort to reconstitute the Communist Party of Peru as the genuine vanguard of the Peruvian proletariat and initiating the glorious People's War in Peru in 1980. Continuing the work of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao Zedong, Chairman Gonzalo, through the course of the People's War, synthesized Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the third, highest, and newest stage of Marxism, Marxism of the contemporary era. By combining Marxism with the concrete reality of Peru, he gave us Gonzalo Thought as the guiding thought of the Party, leaving valuable contributions to all three component parts of Marxism: philosophy, political economy, and scientific socialism.

Chairman Gonzalo's writings are what revolutionaries of the world over today refer to as classics. Several generations of Peruvian revolutionaries and revolutionaries of the world have been stirred by these writings. Today, as we witness the coming New Great Wave of the World Proletarian Revolution, Communists across the world are following the footsteps of Chairman Gonzalo and taking up the task to reconstitute and constitute Communist Parties, wage democratic and socialist revolutions through People's War, defend the dictatorship of the proletariat with waves of cultural revolutions until reaching the luminous and unalterable goal of humanity: communism. Under these circumstances, we hope it would be useful for revolutionaries of the world to study the works of Chairman Gonzalo, not only in helping them understand the new democratic revolution in Peru, but also in inspiring and helping them carry forward the class struggles and revolutionary movement in their own countries.

This book is dedicated to the memory of Chairman Gonzalo, who has given his life for the Party and the Revolution just a few days ago. For revolutionaries of the world, the best way to cherish his memory and mourn this great loss is to take up the task to concretely study and apply his contributions!

Contents

To Understand Mariátegui 1968.....	1
On The National Question 1974.....	18
Concerning Three Chapters Of Our History 1979.....	31
We Are The Initiators 1980.....	37
Towards Guerrilla Warfare! 1980.....	51
To Give One's Life For The Party And The Revolution 1987.....	54
Chairman Gonzalo's Philosophy Seminar 1987.....	56
Speech On The Document "Concerning Gonzalo Thought" 1988.....	73
Interview With Chairman Gonzalo 1988.....	86
Objectives	86
1. Ideological Questions	87
2. On The Party	96
3. The People's War	113
4. On The National Political Situation	135
5. International Politics	159
Other Points	174
Speech Concerning The Programme Of The Communist Party Of Peru 1988.....	182

World Revolution – Strategy And Tactics 1988.....	205
The 2 nd World War Is A Transcendental Fact In World History 1988-1989.....	212
Barricades, Detachments And People’s War 1988-1989.....	217
The Problem Of Masses, Daily Demands And People’s War 1988-1989.....	219
China 1989.....	227
In Commemoration Of The 40 th Anniversary Of The Chinese Revolution 1989.....	242
1. The Chinese Revolution.....	242
2. Maoism.....	244
3. The New-Counter-Revolutionary Offensive Being Carried Out By Gorbachev And Teng World-Wide	245
4. The Communist Party Of Peru.....	247
On The Refoundation Of The Communist Party Of Peru 1991.....	249
On The Agrarian Problem 1991.....	271
1. Quotations.....	271
2. The Decisions Of The Party.....	277
3. Positions Of The Big Bourgeoisie, Its Comprador Faction	283
On The Rectification Campaign With “Elections, No! People’s War, Yes!” 1991.....	287
1. On The Question Of Studying — Pay Attention To Analysis And Synthesis.....	287
2. Celebration Of The 25 th Anniversary Of The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.....	290
3. Political Situation.....	293
4. The Rectification Campaign	308

5. Conclusions	311
May The Strategic Stalemate Shake The Country More! 1991	314
Outline	314
1. Introduction	315
2. International	328
3. National.....	337
4. Concerning The 3 rd Campaign To Impulse	427
May The Strategic Stalemate Shake The Country More!.....	428
Meeting Of The Central Leadership With The Committee Of The People's Aid 1992	432
Some Basic Knowledge Of Marxism <i>Date Unknown</i>	443
Chairman Gonzalo's Speech 1992	455

TO UNDERSTAND MARIÁTEGUI¹

1968

It has been a little more than three years since we had the occasion to talk from this place. At the time, we spoke about the problem of education and shared our thoughts on this important issue. It was a wonderful opportunity to talk with you. Today, once again, we have the opportunity to speak with you, but the circumstances are somewhat different.

We are going to speak about José Carlos Mariátegui, of the actuality of his thought, and this task which I have been assigned to address, is not in itself an easy task, at least not to me. First of all, we believe that Mariátegui must be approached with respect, and secondly, we must approach him from a clear and precise position, because otherwise it is not possible in any way to understand the actuality and richness of his thought.

Of course, Mariátegui has been physically dead for many years, but his thought is still profoundly alive, just as it was in the 1930s. It is still vibrant, still current and still a perspective for Perú, while other thoughts of people who are still alive are truly dead.

It is difficult in an hour more or less, to talk on all Mariátegui's thought, so for this reason we want to focus on a few concrete problems and emphasize on what should do facing the image of this great Peruvian. First, we uphold the figure of Mariátegui as a proletarian intellectual. We will not get into detailed dates or other matters which are not of interest now. We will get into central problems set forth by the actuality of the thought of José Carlos Mariátegui.

TO UNDERSTAND MARIÁTEGUI

After having tried to bury him in silence, much has been written about Mariátegui. Of course, we also see Mariátegui as very highly spoken of, so as to mystify him, to systematically try to twist him, to try to "better" him with senseless pedantry. It has been said in the first place about Mariátegui that he was not a convicted and confessed Marxist and whose thought was not sustained by Marxism-Leninism.

¹ Conference at the University of San Cristobal de Huamanga in Ayacucho, Peru, 1968

Mariátegui said it himself. He was a convicted and confessed Marxist, fearless, neat and precise. What does that mean? It means that Mariátegui had a proletarian class position. He was plainly and simply on the side of the exploited. Mariátegui felt in his own flesh what the exploited masses of our country felt and during his time, unfortunately for us, a very short life, he translated into deeds what he felt and put in practice written word. Mariátegui had a conception of the world. He had an ideology, and he said many times that his ideology was Marxism-Leninism. He conceived and upheld it, and he based his thesis on the contemporary world. It is not possible to understand things, and it is not possible to understand society and the world, unless we view them from the ideological conception of the proletariat.

Mariátegui was a Marxist-Leninist. If we review his works, Mariátegui tells us that in the current century (he spoke around the 1920's) Leninism was the new form, the highest Marxism acquired at the time. Mariátegui then found his affiliation with Marx and Lenin and that is why he called himself a convicted and confessed Marxist-Leninist. In the third place, Mariátegui had a working method, a method of analysis, an irreplaceable method to understand anything. Mariátegui based himself on dialectical materialism, and his works are convincing proof of that. The first question, we said, which must be very clear, is the proletarian position of Mariátegui, the Marxist-Leninist ideology nourishing him and the dialectical materialistic method guiding him.

On these three bases it is feasible to understand the figure of José Carlos Mariátegui, but whoever cannot understand Marxism-Leninism, will not be able to understand Mariátegui, and it is not for a lack of enlightening or of intelligence that she or he cannot understand him, but because he is not on the same side, nor has the same light in the brain, nor uses the same method. That must be very clear.

We must base ourselves on facts, start from the class position of Mariátegui, start from his Marxist-Leninist ideology and one must also start, therefore, from his dialectical materialist method. Whoever does not focus on Mariátegui with those three viewpoints indicated above, cannot understand his thought and will twist it in many cases in good faith or in the majority of cases, like the feathery hacks, in very bad faith.

Mariátegui was a great Latin American Marxist-Leninist and we must be very proud of that fact. There is not in all of Latin America another Marxist-Leninist comparable to him in any way; truly José Carlos Mariátegui is a summit of Latin-American Marxism thought and a greater summit as time goes on.

José Carlos Mariátegui is better appreciated outside our borders. Here in our country he is less wanted, less respected, and even very little known, which is a shame. Mariátegui then is a great Marxist-Leninist, who honors our country and the exploited among our people, but not others, for the others he is a knife sunk in their hearts, which they cannot manage to take it out neither will they are able to take it out.

Mariátegui was not a mere repeater, who simply knew four or five formulas, but he is much more, something more profound, more Marxist. He takes Marxism-Leninism and introduces and fuses it with our reality, he gets it into our country, incarnates it in our soil, and upon incarnating it, introducing it, penetrating it in our country with Marxism-Leninism, he Illuminates us with a thought which is still current. The interpretation Mariátegui wrote of our country, in his famous “Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality,” (*Siete Ensayos de Interpretación de la Realidad Peruana*) is still an unshakable document.

In Mariátegui we see the grip he had, the Marxist and genial grip of being able to fuse the universal reality of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete actuality of our revolutionary prophet. Very few persons have this quality and Mariátegui had it in excess and grandeur, and we must recognize it. Whoever does not understand the development of Marxist ideas in our country; cannot understand what is happening in Peru, and evens less, of course, can he call himself a revolutionary? Unfortunately there many revolutionaries out there who know Mariátegui’s thought and still fear it, a justified fear, because it is a good touching stone to find out who are genuine revolutionaries and who are not. That’s the reason why they fear Mariátegui. Mariátegui’s Seven Essays are still a fundamental part of Peruvian thought.

Mariátegui developed seven masterful interpretations for us from the Marxist viewpoint, and from the one and only correct viewpoint of our Peruvian reality. Many talented and well-versed scholars with a contrary viewpoint have tried to discredit that little book, from the reactionary position of Don Victor Andres Belaunde, but their efforts have failed.

THE IMMORTAL BOOK

Mariátegui’s little book “Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality” is still very much alive, while that of Don Victor Andres Belaunde has been read only by very few (mostly for historical curiosity.) We must start from this, what Mariátegui is telling us in that little book, in this small volume which

constitutes a vision of the People's War in our country. Mariátegui does an analysis of our economy, which is a vital and fundamental issue. It is impossible to understand a society if we don't understand its economic structure, unless we understand the social relations of exploitation which are the social economy, the political economy. All else are fabrications, What does he tell us about Perú? He characterized it very concretely; Peru is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. He shows and proves it in his scheme of the economic process of our country. Mariátegui also develops an outline of social classes in Perú and their historical development, and he states, with other words, of what today is the Marxist thought in Perú being developed under Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Mariátegui not only develops an outline of the relations of exploitation in our country, not just an outline of the social classes, he also makes a schematic that describes the evolution of ideas in Perú. He speaks, for instance, of the literary problem, something we must study sufficiently to realize how literature has evolved in Perú, and how it has had a clear class character. Mariátegui makes a fusion of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of our country, and as a result, the best, the most profound meaning of that reality emerges. This analysis of the Peruvian reality is the basis to continue advancing theoretically what he masterfully began. No one was able to seriously refute the theoretical thesis of Mariátegui, the most they could do, is to come up with superficial outlines, but they could not make the building that he designed and built so quickly and at such a young age.

Much has been said that the "Seven Essays," was simply journalistic work, putting them down as only the work of a newspaperman. There is even a certain individual --the mere saying of his name, Ravines, pollutes the air around us-- he claiming things like this: "what can one think about Mariátegui, why so much noise about Mariátegui if he was only a frivolous journalist." That person did not understand a bit about Mariátegui; of course, how could he understand anything about Mariátegui, when he was one of those who deviated from Mariátegui's road (just like a player of a team who takes off his shirt and goes over to help the other side.) Because they lack the proletarian conception and the method of Mariátegui, that shirt will not help them. With time and exposure to the sunlight, things lose their color and become yellowish.

For this reason, the problem is not external, but three little things, three basic things about Mariátegui: his class position, his ideology and his method. Whoever is on the side of the proletariat, of the peasantry and of the exploited classes in our country is in a position to understand Mariátegui; whoever does not assume this attitude, this class position, whoever has one foot on

the side of the exploited, and the other foot on the side of the exploiters, who ever cautiously sides with the exploited, but at heart is with the exploiters, is not able to understand Mariátegui; that's why we see so many salivating varmint out there. However, their spit will never reach the height of the steps reached by Mariátegui more than 30 years ago.

MARIÁTEGUI WAS A FIGHTER FOR THE PROLETARIAT

We would like to go on to another point which cannot be unlinked from the one above. These are tied like the two sides of a sheet of paper, inseparably linked. I am referring to Mariátegui as a proletarian fighter, a great figure, an extraordinary thinker and also an extraordinary organizer, and the first militant Marxist fighter of our country. We must also put that out very clearly.

José Carlos Mariátegui came to our country from Europe. He brought new ideas and a new task, a mission: to build socialism in Peru. That was his mission and he fulfilled it. He worked tirelessly for socialism, he lived for socialism, he outstretched himself for socialism, and he died for socialism. At all times he remained unbeatable, with an erect spinal cord, without twisting accommodations. When one studies a bit, one finds in Mariátegui a work plan, some kind of organizational development of the proletariat in our country. In the first place, he works to prepare the work of workers unions, he shows up as one of the creators of classic trade unionism. Before him there already were union struggles in the country, but Mariátegui sets the bases for proletarian industrial unionism. Mariátegui is the founder of the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CGTP). The CGTP is Mariátegui's work. He was its ideologist, its mentor, who built it organically and who conceived its foundations and organizational characters.

One of the first organizations the proletariat needs is the structuring of an industrial and trade Central Union. Mariátegui understood that very well, but he not only understood it, since Mariátegui was not the type of person who upon understanding something, just laid back relaxing on the enjoyment of his own lucidity, but quite the contrary, he felt the need to fulfill the task this understanding demanded of him. He did all the preparatory work of the CGTP constitution and platform. Any constitution, no matter what it is, has two consecutive parts, two elements which together form any organization or institution. First, the ideological part, that is, the dynamics of thought, the formation

of a programme, the constitution of its points of agreement, the importance of a statute, etc., and a second part, the constitution of the organization apparatus strictly speaking. That was understood by Mariátegui profoundly and masterfully, and following his Marxist analysis, Mariátegui was the creator of the CGTP.

THE GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF PERUVIAN WORKERS (CGTP)

There is a very interesting thing: in developing the statutes, Mariátegui made a class conscientious, proletarian workers' union statute which is still awaiting to fulfill its realization. That is ironic, but more than ironic, it is proof of the disorientation and confusion that after him have imposed certain individuals in the workers' union movement in our country. If you read the CGTP statutes, in the first place you'd find some sort of introduction, an orientation says Mariátegui, and it set forth how the proletariat sees the world of today, how there is a struggle which cannot be disguised, a struggle which cannot be swept under the rug, a struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and in turn he sets forth, that there is a class ideology one must follow to create a union organization, he sets it forth clearly and in a very precise language. Then, what does Mariátegui do?

Mariátegui sets forth the general bases of the organic constitution of that union organization, but he does not do it so meticulously as to suffocate it, but in general lines, and basic points which allow for the development and initiative of the people. We cannot tell the people, "when you get down a ladder, do it first with the right foot." We must allow for their initiative, their creativity, let them think with their own heads so they can understand the issues, so they learn instead of being forever "under age." He thought about the people that they did not need at all times a sort of guiding dog, because the people aren't blind. Mariátegui understood that very well and that's why he drew the general bases for the organization. Also, when Mariátegui addressed the problem of the unions he referred to formidable ideas not found in any statute. The only favorable difference of today's statutes is that they are printed in a better quality paper.

Mariátegui sets forth the means of the struggle and speaks to us about the strike. Why does Mariátegui set forth things that way? Because in the organization one must also speak to them of the means and tactics to wage a

struggle, in accordance with what we want to achieve, there is a form of the struggle.

It is important to say this, because if one reads the newspapers of today in our country, *La Prensa*, for instance, it claims that the strike is a poor method, inadequate, a method just for extremist agitators. *La Prensa* wants to domesticate the proletariat wishing it never goes on strike, but rather appeal to Congress (parliamentarism), to compromise, it pretends that the victim of theft discusses about the stolen goods with the thief. In any struggle, it is important, it is fundamental, to see what the means of the struggle is, the ways in which struggle is conducted, and what is the basic and fundamental demand that allows the mobilization of the masses, and mobilizing them for one sacrosanct reason: because through active mobilization the people open their eyes and understand and free themselves from apathy and atavism and go on to generate those who will conduct the struggles (their leaders). For this reason, a mass movement is very important, for that reason it's good to highlight this fundamental point in the statutes of the CGTP. Mariátegui also addresses the problem of propaganda and agitation. The people need their own voice to say their own words. They don't need for others to say it instead of them. The people may not talk in a florid language, they may not have a polished language, they might make mistakes on diction, but it does not matter. What counts is that the people say what they feel, what they see, what they need and struggle consistently and to the end for what they want, regardless of defeats, because any defeats the people may suffer are temporary, all of them, each and every one of them; Mariátegui takes care of that too and when we read the statutes he speaks of propaganda and agitation.

If we study at this long historical period from Mariátegui's death, we see how this entire problem has not been understood and how reaction may shout at us every day. However, we cannot find a daily press expressing the voice of the workers, we can't find such a thing because the problem, how Mariátegui set it forth, has never been well understood. If we do this small summary of what was proposed right in the statutes of the CGTP, then we see the extraordinary capacity Mariátegui possessed and the means of solution. Mariátegui understood perfectly well this problem: "As long as they are organized, the people are invincible." Lenin, extraordinary in every sense, said: "the people are invincible, but only when they are organized like steel, united on its own principles."

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PEASANTRY

Mariátegui proposes that the people, first and foremost, must define their ideological and political position, second, they must forge their organic structure.

But Mariátegui not only takes care of organizing the workers, the gigantic work of Mariátegui does not end there, but he sees something else: he understands our country to its very entrails and discovers that in our country there are peasants. Mariátegui not only studies them but understands their role, understands their historic mission, and what it is that oppresses them. Mariátegui says that in Perú, there are peasants who are crushed by the feudalism oppressing them. This feudalism has two expressions: Latifundia and serfdom that damned urge to exploit, to live off somebody else's labor. Mariátegui understands all that and pinpoints the fundamental cause, the malady, the origin, the historic source is feudalism which still prevails in our country. He says our country is semi-feudal and, that is a mountain yielding its weight over and crushing the Peruvian peasant. The problem of the Peruvian peasant is the problem of the land, and the problem of the land is summarized by how to conquer that land. How can the land be conquered? Mariátegui proposes that the peasantry be organized and he is the first to sow it under a correct concept, to fight for it from a proletarian viewpoint, indefatigable in the organization of peasants. Mariátegui has a profound work that is seldom read, because many consider it simple political work rather than a scientific one. Some people have monumental blindness. Mariátegui begins to address the peasants' problem and proposes organic forms, and he does an analysis in his work "Sketch of the Indigenous Problem," which was presented at an international meeting.

Mariátegui analyzes the situation of the peasantry in our country, of interest to us is that right there he proposes forms to organize the peasantry. Mariátegui calls for organizing unions of peasants, to form peasant leagues, to set forth organizations capable of mobilizing of the peasantry. Mariátegui understands that without organization the people are very weak and cannot fight. However, he does not stop there, he proposes the need to create a workers-peasants alliance, that is, one of the most fundamental mains of any revolutionary process.

Mariátegui points this out and goes further. He proposes two extraordinary things; with respect to Power, Lenin said: "the problem of the revolution is the problem of Power." That is fundamental, everything points to

conquering power, to retain it or to maintain it. Some believe that Mariátegui was a deformed humanist or a humanistic bourgeois liberal. Mariátegui goes much further and says that there is something else to do in the problem of organizing the peasantry: to find out the weaponry of the peasants, to organize the revolutionary armed forces of the peasantry. Now, don't tell me I am promoting this: I am merely speaking of Mariátegui, and Mariátegui proposes arming the peasantry as one of the necessary forms of organizing them; he not only proposed that, but proposed that Soviets needed to be formed, and that is most correct and applicable from A to Z, wholly and absolutely, outside little fears we might have. That was how Mariátegui proposed things.

THE PARTY

Mariátegui resolves the political problem in our country. He knows perfectly well that the proletariat has organic forms such as workers unions, workers' alliances, and workers' weaponry. Well, Mariátegui knew that these three things we just mentioned amount to nothing if there is no brain guiding it. So then Mariátegui proposes founding a proletarian party and creates the party of the proletariat in our country. Anyone studying the problem of the ideas in Peru must recognize that fact. But out there we see some of the ilk of Carlos Tapia saying that Mariátegui was not the founder of the Communist Party of Perú, that what Mariátegui founded was the Socialist Party of Perú, "because Mariátegui was a man of ample concepts, and an ample spirit, Mariátegui was not sectarian. He was not narrow minded, and he was very gentlemanly in his ideas." That seems like a defense of Mariátegui, but in reality it is the worst offense that can be done to Mariátegui. Mariátegui would accept anything except that, which is like telling him: "you were a bad man, at the end, you broke down when you were only 35."

There are some "defenders" whom we are better off telling them, do not defend me, because you are sinking me, and that is what we need to tell to these "defenders of Mariátegui," who speak about a non-sectarian Mariátegui, and ample and democratic one, so ample as to confuse the exploiters for the exploited. Mariátegui founded the Communist Party of Peru, which at first was not thus named: it was named the Socialist Party. There arises the aforementioned Mr. Ravines saying, "we can prove it with documents and everything else," he says with trembling voice that he [Mariátegui] founded the Socialist

Party and not the Communist Party. “I founded the Communist Party,” states the miserable Ravines.

But that is false. It is true that Mariátegui founded the Socialist Party, but affiliated to the III International and subject to the principles stipulated by Lenin in 1919. How is that about? Mariátegui creating a Socialist Party instead of a Communist Party, however one affiliated to the Communist International? Were those really ignorant people who thought that this party was not the Communist Party, yet in reality it was? Mariátegui wrote its constitutive charter, its birth certificate. Mariátegui was present there. Mariátegui also wrote the party programme. We must refer to the documents found in the works of Martínez de la Torre, there we find the programme written by Mariátegui himself, the program of the Communist Party of Peru (CPP). How is that? He does not create the Party, yet creates that document? Does that mean that those in the International were not aware? They say he did not create it, yet was affiliated to the International. He does not create it, yet writes its constitutive charter. Simply what we see is a conspiracy to wrest away from us the immense figure of Mariátegui.

Mariátegui dedicated his life and tireless work to accomplish what he thought was his duty, to participate in the struggle for Peruvian socialism. But he wasn't only a mere participant but the one who generated it. Since then, socialism in our country has a filiation, an ideal. We are in the process of rediscovering the figure of Mariátegui.

WE ARE THE LEGITIMATE HEIRS OF MARIÁTEGUI

We want to speak about the actuality of Mariátegui. But first we must speak of the enemies of Mariátegui. You already know that he died young, at age 35; his work remained largely to be done and he set the bases for his practical work. His work has had many ups and downs: open felonies, untold betrayals, opportunists attempting to cover themselves under his shade. It also has, naturally, individuals who have defended it consistently and some who today want to go back to his figure, to his source. With Mariátegui physically dead, certain elements, certain individuals, certain weasels whose name I do not even want to mention here, arise as the ones carrying the banner of Mariátegui, for the express purpose of systematically renege and distort his thought and betray in deeds the legacy they claim to have received. How do these self-proclaimed heirs of Mariátegui behave politically? ‘What is their practice? By their deeds

you will know them. The way they act today they will act tomorrow and with still more reason in 1969. In words, they cover Mariátegui with praise, they fill column after column in newspapers to pay him homage. They call for massive and popular picnics, ostensibly to heighten the figure of Mariátegui. Behind Mariátegui's name, they pretend to hide their many years of betrayals in our country, more than 30 years. They are old and proven betrayers. Can anyone heighten the image of Mariátegui, recognize him, without following his thought? In no way is this possible. How could they have been followers of Mariátegui when, unlike the Amauta² who held that the country is semi-feudal and semi-colonial, they hold, with very loose bones and shamelessly, that Peru is a dependent nation? How can they be followers of Mariátegui? These gentlemen say, and it is on their posters, in their documents around everywhere, they claim that Mariátegui's thought is still current, is still real, concrete, that Mariátegui's economic analysis is still reality in our country, but that Peruvian society is semi-feudal and dependent. Let's repeat what Mariátegui says? Mariátegui says that Perú is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country, and that its semi-colonial character will go on worsening and establishing itself more with the increased penetration of imperialism. Let's ask ourselves a simple question: Has imperialism penetration increased or not since the time of Mariátegui? The clear answer is obviously yes. It has penetrated more. If imperialism has penetrated more, has what Mariátegui said been fulfilled or not? He told us that with the further penetration of imperialism, and of semi-colony we would be even more at risk of becoming a total colony, that is, definitely losing our sovereignty. Mariátegui proposed, for instance, a workers and peasants front and to make Soviets. And what do these self-proclaimed followers of Mariátegui preach? They preach to make a front with the bourgeoisie. How about the workers and peasants? They are not in their plans, except for the very few they bring in pulling them from their ears, to falsely represent the genuine workers. But what do these supposed followers say? That we should participate in elections that through elections we will conquer power. What kind of followers are these? I refer myself to Mariátegui's documents. Can these gentlemen be called followers of Mariátegui? No. They are smokers of Mariátegui, arsonists of Mariátegui's work. They burn a lot of frank incense for the purpose of covering the saint with ashes, to tar him so no one will be able to see how he really was and still is. Much picnicking,

² Translator's note: El Amauta referring to Mariátegui, the teacher.

much phrase mongering, elevating the figure of the man while prostituting his thought. They mention Mariátegui a lot while denying his revolutionary vision. Are these followers of Mariátegui? No. They are traffickers, enemies of Mariátegui. They want to reduce the celebration of Mariátegui to merely commemorate his death. Very symptomatic. They celebrate his death because they celebrate that he is dead, understand? When should we be much happier of the fact that he was born, like for the great figures of the world, nobody celebrates the day Lenin died, but all celebrate the day on which Lenin was alive. We know them better for their deeds. We must not accept that. We must fight all those who oppose Mariátegui, who denies he. But it is not only Mariátegui who has those kinds of enemies.

THOSE “SUPERSEDING” MARIÁTEGUI’S WORK

He also has hidden enemies. Those individuals who keep on saying: “On what year was it that Mariátegui wrote? In 1928? Ah! “ “They say, “that was forty years ago! In 40 years historical science has progressed much in the world. The methods of investigation have progressed much, studies on Peruvian history have advanced both on the archeology, on history of the republic, on history of the Inca empire, “these things have advanced so much as to “exceed the reach of Mariátegui.” The affiliation of these superseders is the same of the improvers of Marx. These “petty superseders” have not even been able to supersede their own narrow minds. They are liars, false, traffickers. What do these individuals do? They have the habit of accumulating data: that typical intellectual richness of the bourgeoisie. Data is a bourgeois concept. They believe that the more data one has, the better interpreter one is, the better understanding one has of the national situation; which of course it is absurd. That is not where the problem lies, it is not a matter of accumulating data, because we simply are not mere counting machines; the problem lies on the interpretation, and Mariátegui called it “Seven Essays of Interpretation,” not seven essays of data accumulation. And the problem of interpretation is a problem of class position, of proletarian ideology and of dialectical materialist method. What happens is that his superseders have yet to grasp the problem of knowledge in the bourgeoisie and in the proletarian. What happens is that these superseders want to make a Marxist interpretation of Perú, with a bourgeois concept in their heads, that is what really happens. What is the end result? A chili pot which not even they themselves are able to digest and that is how ambiguous

things get: “Perú is semi-capitalist, Perú is a semi-colony, Perú is a neo-colony, but Perú is the same time semi-feudal, at the same time that it is capitalist.” But what the hell is Perú? The problem with these individuals is that they lack unity of thought, not because they are less intelligent. They may have a great intelligence, great wit, but they lack a base. It is a like building a house that has a roof but lack of a foundation. They lack class position and that is why they cannot go further. They digress, make grandiose interpretative schemes, lucid and brilliant schemes about a stage of the country or of today’s Peruvian society, but they are unable to get to the crux of the problem and therefore, end up talking about Perú having curious situations of class or curious alliances. There is nothing curious in Perú, society is not curious at all.

Society is governed by laws, but those who do not follow Marxism cannot understand those laws. To these friends, to these gentlemen who pretend to overcome Mariátegui, we must tell them to understand what the problem is, show them what a gross mistakes they make when they try to understand Mariátegui while keeping the bourgeois system in their heads. They will never succeed.

One of the most debated problems is the capitalist character of Peru, because Mariátegui held that Perú is semi-feudal and that is correct. They claim Mariátegui made a mistake because he said we are semi-feudal when we are capitalist; what happens is that at the bottom of the thought of those individuals there is no dialectic mechanism, they believe that revolution is not feasible unless the forces of production are largely developed. That concept was superseded already: Lenin made of these ideas “mashed potatoes,” but some still revive it.

Some people claim to have superseded Mariátegui. In what does this betterment consist? Where is the well-thought document showing us that the country is this or that way, or that the revolution must have this or that character? That is another problem, because Mariátegui says that the first stage of the Peruvian revolution is national democratic, people’s democratic, but the superseders of Mariátegui say, no, the revolution is socialist. Finally, there is another set of twisters, they extract or cut little sentences of Mariátegui’s work, then begin to make weird mental elaborations, somewhere Mariátegui says something about religion, he has an opinion about religion, about the myth, but then some rub their hands with glee, their soft hands which have never done any field work, and say: deep down Mariátegui was a mystic and not a Marxist, he was a humanist that suffered and pained for Peru.

Mariátegui set forth clearly that Marxism-Leninism is universal. The superseders take hold for one sentence of his in which he said that the revolution in Perú will not be traced nor copied. Mariátegui set forth Marxism as a universal truth and that universal truth he transferred into our reality. It is not as some say that Mariátegui attempted to squeeze reality within the narrow Marxist scheme that is what Mr. Victor Andres Belaunde said. No. Mariátegui has not done that. Mariátegui was not a senseless man. Mariátegui was a Marxist man and he understood things as a scientist, although he had an anti university feelings, this was because he was against the rigid, obsolete and a feudal university we had in our country, not against the people's university which he shone with his thought.

Reactionaries pretended to show a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois Mariátegui, and some have even said Mariátegui was a populist [laughter], a populist in the sense that it was Mariátegui who developed the pro-peasantry thought in Perú, a Mariátegui who did not develop a proletarian conception, but a conception from the viewpoint of the peasantry. That is a lie and a gross distortion. Mariátegui is a Marxist, he does not have the peasantry viewpoint, because if he had it, he would be a petty bourgeois revolutionary and nothing else.

TO STUDY AND TO DIFFUSE

What conclusions must we the revolutionaries draw about Mariátegui's thought? First, to study and diffuse José Carlos Mariátegui. Why study Mariátegui? Because much is spoken about him in our country, but very little by him is read. Let's do a retrospective analysis and see if we have read the 10 little volumes written by Mariátegui? Strictly speaking, do we know his political proposals? Are we familiar with his anti-imperialism viewpoint? How many times have we think about the problem of an anti-imperialist viewpoint? How much have we meditated about the problems of Mariátegui? Not much.

Mariátegui is a man who shines in our country: there is no one else of this magnitude. What figure do they pretend to counterpoise? To Mr. Riva Agüero, that apprentice of fascism who never even became a consistent one? Neither did Don Victor Andres Belaunde managed to put forth a consistent thought. Belaunde is a superficial man, who today is taken for a thinker. His work on St. Augustine does not go beyond pure quackery, it is shell without substance. We must spread Mariátegui's thought. What have we done for the

fortieth anniversary of Mariátegui? Have we studied him in depth? Have we held discussions at the base level, organize seminars and conferences on the Seven Essays? Have we attempted to try to apply what Mariátegui said and to follow his line to understand in that light, the current situation in the country? Have we picked up the lantern to be able to see where we are going? We have not done so. Concretely, here is what I propose. I think we must set forth activities to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the Seven Essays. How do we do that? For now, at least by discussing it. Secondly, it seems to me that we have another task: the problem of defending Mariátegui, who is being attacked openly, and covertly.

Mariátegui is a source of light which we cannot allow to be turned off, to be slandered, we cannot allow for it to be seemed through colored lenses, so we would be forced to see black what is red, so his fundamental ideas would get twisted. We cannot allow that, we have to defend Mariátegui, because if we do not, then Mariátegui will be continued to be cast aside. We'd then be following the same policy of the reactionaries: what reaction did, was to take Mariátegui, chained and threw him in jail, and then tried to silence his ideas.

We must free Mariátegui, because if we do not, then neither can we liberate ourselves. Of course, this is not a personal problem but a problem of liberating all people. In third place, I think we must further the study of Mariátegui, I do not pretend to supersede or overcome Mariátegui, I do not want to be classified in quarters of the superseders, but I think we must develop Mariátegui further, take his ideology, his method, his sources as a base, and develop these problems. For example, how we analyze the Peruvian economy of 1968, in the light of the 1928 essay? It would be magnificent thing to do the same with literature, with the problem of the land, women and other problems. I think that this is a duty and we the intellectuals, must fulfill it, and the workers as well as the peasants because we find many portions of his work which refer to them in plain and clear language. In conclusion, Mariátegui is a great example, united with other figures in our history, such as, for example, Tupac Amaru.

THE EXAMPLE OF MARIÁTEGUI

Mariátegui is a historic figure of our country. Even if a recent one, he already has a perfect historical dimension that excels. He is the country's ideologist. There is no other one. The reactionary ideologists are dwarfed and defeated by Mariátegui.

We must do it. How wonderful it would be if there were a few more people like him! Because I am quite convinced that individuals like Mariátegui are not born and forge every day, but every once in a while. His family name can be canned and assumed by his relatives or not. What matters here is the example. We must raise his figure as an example to follow, as guide of the revolution in our country, and our country is deeply changing and will change even more. It has been said, nobody can stop history, it may be deviated a bit for a short while, but not more. Mariátegui, therefore, is an example to us, but an example of what? Mariátegui is an example of proletarian revolutionary, not more, not less. We do not make him bigger. Mariátegui doesn't want that we exalt him nor he wants that we take away his merits. If we say he is an example of a revolutionary, then we would be stripping him of his proletarian family name; if we take the proletarian position out of him, then Mariátegui would be just one more among many.

AN ITTY-BITTY THEORETICIAN³

And what does it mean? I study Mariátegui to understand what is about, I see his work, his life, and I find in Mariátegui's work a theoretical development, a Marxist-Leninist analysis of our problems, a great theoretician of Perú and of Latin America.

We must follow that example; I am not proposing that we must be equal to him, but only that we follow his road. For instance I could make a little prologue. For instance, I could do something following his light on this level, and by doing so I would be an itty bitty theoretician, but I am on his road, and if we join together all the itty bitty truths that we may be reaching at while following the road of Mariátegui, then it becomes a huge river of truth. Who is more responsible for doing this? The intellectuals. But not the plain intellectuals because our country and its development not only demand intellectuals: It demands revolutionary intellectuals. What does it mean? Mao Tse-tung answer is luminous and precise and very realistic when he says we must fuse ourselves with the exploited masses of workers and peasants. He says that very concretely. If one wants to be revolutionary intellectual then one must fuse himself with the masses, work with them, feel like they do and think like they do. But this is

³ Translator's note: In Spanish "Un Teoriquito Pequeñito" or a little theoretician.

a process, because we must leave aside our status, our business suits, we must become revolutionary intellectuals. That is a reflection proper to all of us, which carries us to the second part. In Mariátegui, we see the man of action, a doer, even when he confronted some personal problems, like his family, his health, he always put those problems behind his main task.

Mariátegui was very consistent. He sacrificed all for his work because he understood the importance of it, because he was a fighter, whoever is not a fighter, is not a Marxist-Leninist.

We must follow his road, truly, letter by letter, it will be difficult to follow his road, but we must follow it.

I think some ideas have been clarified, so try to take out all the embellishment and multitude of florid words, and retain what is essential, the synthesis, the schematic, the outline, there remain, thus, a few ideas, especially the need of enthroning the thought of Mariátegui, of defending it and following his example. The destiny of our people is at stake. Either we enthrone the thought of Mariátegui, or the country does not go forward.

ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION⁴

1974

“All debates are open for those who voice opinions, not those who remain silent.”

“Polemics are useful when they are truly set out to clarify theories and actions, and when only clear ideas and motives are introduced.”

José Carlos Mariátegui

Evidently, it is very important and necessary to analyze the character of Peruvian society; because if we do not have a clear understanding of it, we cannot comprehend and explain adequately the process we are living in today. Thus, it is not possible to understand concrete problems of today and the current political situation, such as the law of education or law of mines, without understanding what the character of contemporary Peruvian society is. Unfortunately, little is known about the national question and this get worse with the gross disinformation campaign launched by the state on this matter lately.

1. THE CHARACTER OF CONTEMPORARY PERUVIAN SOCIETY

a. The Character of Our Society

Peru is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. Our country became independent in the last century. More than 150 years ago, we were a colony of Spain. We lived subjugated by this metropolis and had no political independence at all. On the other hand, at the beginning of the 19th Century Peru was a feudal country and our society was fundamentally based on agriculture, which was the economic base. Of course, there was trade and incipient industrial modalities, but the economic base was feudalism. The society was based on the existence of big landownership that belonged to a handful of people, and upon this kind of property, servitude existed. The peasants were cruelly exploited, and had to give personal services such as working the land of the feudal lord and others, including domestic services, in order to have a plot of land.

⁴ Speech by Chairman Gonzalo at the conference organized by the Teacher's Union of Humanga, Ayacucho-Perú, 1974

Our country was backward, where the norm was the practice of old forms of production and modalities of government that were totally decrepit. At the beginning of the 19th Century, the country had two problems, which with certain minor modifications still persist today. First, the land question, the problem of feudalism, of the servitude of the peasantry based on the big land-ownership property; and the second was the problem of national sovereignty (our nation was a colony of Spain.)

The struggle for independence raised these two problems. The issue of sovereignty was present in parliamentary debates in which it was proposed that independence could only be assured if the land was handed over to the peasants, also this is proven by the decrees of Bolivar on territorial property. However, independence only meant breaking the chains with Spain. Soon thereafter the country found itself controlled and dominated by England. This great capitalist power dominated all of Latin America. What is the importance of the domination of England in our country? Up until independence, we were a feudal and colonial country, but once we became independent although we maintained our feudal base, we achieved a certain political independence. We became a republic despite of the problems inherent to emancipation. England introduces higher modalities of development in the country, capitalist modalities, fundamentally in trade which was tied to the world market of the fertilizer guano. As a result, the destruction of feudalism advanced because England brought merchandise and introduced capitalist method of production. On the other hand, England began to control the country and introduced a process of colonization. The British domination resulted in the beginning of a change: a step toward the formation of a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society.

In the 20th Century the United States (US) displaced the English domination in the Americas and becomes the master, around the 1920s. Thus, our country sees itself dominated by another world power, an imperialist power. The US came when it was already an imperialist country, with a developed system of monopolies, and big corporations that concentrate the US's economy. It was already a power undergoing a colonial expansion in Latin America and even in parts of Asia.

Under the Yankee imperialist domination, our society evolves further its semi-feudal character. However, it is not totally destroyed. It continues to survive. In the same manner that under English domination (especially after the war with Chile), there has been a major push toward the destruction of feudalism under the development of a form of capitalism tied to the big monopolies and dependent upon imperialism. In addition to maintaining its semi-

feudal character, our country continues to be a semi-colony; a dominated country that even though has declared its political independence is under the domination of an imperialist power in economic, diplomatic, cultural, and military affairs. This domination turns Peru's declared political independence into a formality.

In synthesis, since the 19th Century, Peruvian society has evolved from a feudal society into a semi-feudal one, and from a colonial society into a semi-colonial one. In this long process, three powers have dominated and exploited us: First Spain until 1821 (although it continued its domination for many more decades.) Then England dominated us in a more subtle way. The British even fabricated for us political parties of a bourgeois nature and organized a better state apparatus in order to subjugate us better with its subtle domination. It was a subtle domination but no less exploitative than the previous one. Finally, the US, which continues to oppress and exploit us, an imperialism that despite all that is said (about "independence") dominates us on all levels.

When we were a colonial country, we had two problems: the land problem and the national question. Under English domination we were a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society (less developed than the present time) and had two problems: the land and the nation. The land was concentrated in a few hands and servitude continued to exist in the country. In the 20th Century under US domination, we continue to be a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society (undoubtedly much more evolved than before) but the basic problems of the country continue to be the two mentioned before: the land and the nation. The land question is because the feudal modalities of exploitation still survive and grip our entire society. Thus, our unscientific and superstitious mentality, our ideology in general, as well as our social and political relations, still have many feudal aspects. The national question is because we are an oppressed nation, apparently free, but at the bottom, subjugated in many ways.

Therefore, the nation's history from the 19th Century to today is the feudal and colonial class struggle that under the domination of English capitalism and Yankee imperialism in succession, has evolved and transformed into a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society with two basic problems still unresolved: the land question and the national question.

b. The Character of the Revolutionary Process of Peruvian Society

In laying down the character of Peruvian society a question arises: which is the path of revolutionary transformation? Concretely, what is the

character of the Peruvian revolution? We have established that today there are two problems: the land question and the national question, from whose resolution the solution of the rest of the nation's problems will derive. The entire national question is tied to the semi-feudal and semi-colonial character of Peruvian society. Hence, in order for Peruvian society to change, to be truly revolutionary, these two problems must be resolved:

The land question, whose solution demands that semi-feudalism be swept away, unless this is done, the land question cannot be resolved.

The national question, whose solution demands sweeping away Yankee imperialist oppression, because if this semi-colonial domination is not swept away the national question will not be resolved.

Therefore, without eliminating semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism it is not possible to genuinely transform Peruvian society (despite all what they'd been telling us.) Furthermore, what is being proclaimed today is nothing new. For instance, in 1919 we heard similar siren songs. Consequently, the two tasks that must be carry out in the process of transformation of Peruvian society, scientifically called the Peruvian Revolution, is to completely destroy semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism. These are the two tasks of the Peruvian revolution in its first stage. This means that the Peruvian Revolution is anti-feudal and anti-imperialist. It must destroy the feudal remnants and the imperialist domination. For this reason, the Peruvian Revolution is necessarily democratic and national. Scientifically speaking the character of the Peruvian Revolution is a national-democratic revolution; democratic because it will destroy the feudal relations of the nation; and national because it will destroy the Yankee imperialist oppression. Thus, in the contemporary semi-feudal and semi-colonial Peruvian society, there is only room for a national-democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution.

Let us analyze the character of the Peruvian Revolution in relation to the concrete historical conditions. The two problems of the country (the land and the nation), during the 20th Century as compared to the 19th Century, have big differences. In the last century there was no imperialism like there is today, and there was no international working class capable of leading the revolution, nor was there a developed working class in our country, whereas today, we have a triumphant working class and in our country, we have a working class with a long history of struggle. These are very important differences in the revolutionary process of our country.

Until the 1920s, the bourgeoisie in our country was in the capacity of leading the process of transformation towards the solution of these two

problems, but they didn't. Nevertheless, in our country, before the 1920s, there were great struggles, heroic struggles and continuous uprisings of peasants, mobilizations, and student struggles, and powerful actions of the working class. All of this generated a great process of political struggle in which the ideology of the proletariat began to be spread out and be applied to our reality. The extraordinary figure of José Carlos Mariátegui emerges, whose tireless work as a "man of thought and action" marked a milestone in history. In 1928, Mariátegui founded the Communist Party, the Party of the working class in Peru. This period determined a fundamental change in our revolution through which the bourgeoisie, under the conditions of imperialist domination and the existence of a working class forged in struggle, could no longer lead the revolutionary process of our nation.

Thus, the working class has sprung forward and developed, and beyond disputing the leadership of the revolution with the bourgeoisie, it is the only class capable of carrying the Peruvian Revolution to its triumph. The bourgeois revolution in the country has two periods:

The old bourgeois revolution that was able to be completed towards the beginning of this century, under bourgeois leadership; and

The new bourgeois revolution or national-democratic revolution, or bourgeois revolution of a new type, under the leadership of the proletariat which is the only historical perspective for the country.

After 1928 the proletariat achieved political organization and displaced the bourgeoisie from the historical leadership of the revolutionary process, as the only class that can complete the national democratic revolution. Thus, after 1928 the revolution in the country, the destruction of feudalism and imperialist domination, can only be completed under the leadership of the proletariat, a class that in order to fulfill its historical role must unite with the peasantry in a solid worker-peasant alliance, since the peasantry as a majority, although it does not lead the revolution, is the main force.

We uphold the position that in the country the proletariat, with its Party, must lead the movement, or else there is no national-democratic revolution. If not, let us not fool ourselves, directly or indirectly, we would be serving the enemies of the class.

To conclude, we must point out that there are other theses opposite to what we have explained. For example, there is a thesis that states that Peruvian society is capitalist. This is the most dangerous. If the country is capitalist, the revolution must be socialist, and the proletariat and not the peasantry would be the main force. This thesis fundamentally changes the extremely important

problem, which is the road of the revolution. As we have seen here, there are two revolutionary paths:

The path of the October Revolution which is from the city to the countryside, and this is the path of the capitalist countries by way of a socialist revolution, the path that old Russia took or that France would have to take today, for example; and

The path of the Chinese Revolution, which is from the countryside to the city, and this is the path that semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries follow by way of a national-democratic revolution, the path the Vietnam, among others, is following today. As such, the question of whether the country is semi-feudal or capitalist is not simply a Byzantine discussion, because if we err about the character of society we err on the course of the revolution, and consequently it will not triumph.

The thesis of the capitalist character of Peruvian society has been and continues to be upheld by Trotskyism and positions close to it, nevertheless such typifications begins to be upheld by revisionism in order to deepen its surrender to the regime.

2. BUREAUCRAT-CAPITALISM

This question is important for the comprehension of Peruvian society, and ignorance of it is the root of grave political errors. The thesis of bureaucrat-capitalism is found in the classics and in Mariátegui, although he used another term.

a. What do we mean by Bureaucrat-capitalism?

This is the capitalism that imperialism promotes in a backwards country; the type of capitalism, the special form of capitalism, that is imposed by an imperialist country onto a backwards country, whether it is semi-feudal or semi-colonial. Let us analyze this historic process.

How did capitalism develop in the old European nations? Consider France; toward the end of the 18th Century it was a feudal country, with 20-22.000.000 peasants while workers numbered only around 600.000 (from which we can see the feudal passage it had); it was based on servitude of various forms. Nevertheless, within the feudal entrails of France new productive forms, of manufacturing, and capitalist forms were generated, and a class, the bourgeoisie, was gaining ever more force, more economic power, including political

influence. We ask: Was France a nation subjugated by another? No. France was an absolute monarchy that contested with England for global hegemony, it was not oppressed by anyone. Its socio-economic and historical conditions had made it develop that way. Did imperialism exist in that era? No. Imperialism is of this century. What existed were countries undergoing capitalist development, like England for example, and France was independently developing a capitalist society. Other countries followed the same path, and when they reached the 19th Century, France, England, Belgium, Holland, etc. were capitalist countries that developed independently.

What was the situation of Latin America in the 19th Century? When the emancipation of America began (1810), the nations of Europe were already powerful, whereas the Latin American ones had only recently begun to structure their nationalities, a problem that has not yet been concluded. Moreover, soon after becoming independent these nations fall under the domination of a power, namely England; thus their capitalism will develop under English domination, a kind of dependent capitalism. Thus, there is a well-known historical, economic, and political difference compared to the European process.

On another side, the bourgeoisies that develop in Latin America begin to link themselves more and more to the dominant country, in such a way that these weak bourgeoisies, instead of developing independently like the Europeans did, serving the national interests, they evolve as subjugated bourgeoisies, dependent, given over body and soul to the imperialist powers (England or the US) to the extent they even believe in converting themselves into rich men and developed intermediate bourgeoisies, as our history in this century shows.

This latter path is the one taken in Peru. As we have seen, in the second decade of this century Yankee imperialism supplanted English domination.

b. Three Lines Within Bureaucrat-capitalism

Bureaucrat-capitalism develops three lines within its process: a landlord line in the countryside, a bureaucratic one in industry, and a third, also bureaucratic, in the ideological sphere. This is without pretending that that these are the only ones.

It introduces the landlord line in the countryside by way of expropriatory agrarian laws that do not aim to destroy the feudal landlord class and their property, but rather progressively evolve them by means of the purchase and payment of the land for the peasants. The bureaucratic line in industry aims at controlling and centralizing industrial production, commerce, etc., putting them ever more in the hands of monopoly with the goal of sponsoring a more

rapid and systematic accumulation of capital, to the detriment of the working class and other workers, naturally, to the benefit of the biggest monopolies and consequently imperialism. In this process the forced saving which workers are subjected to plays an important role, as we can see in the industrial law. The bureaucratic line in ideology consists of the process of molding the people, by means of the massive diffusion, especially in political conceptions and ideas, that serve bureaucrat-capitalism. The general law of education is a concentrated expression of this line, and one of the constants of this line is its anti-Communism, its anti-Marxism, whether open or concealed.

These three lines form part of the bureaucratic path, which is opposed by the DEMOCRATIC PATH, the revolutionary road of the people. If the former defends feudal property, the latter proposes its destruction, and it opposes the buying of lands with confiscation; if the former recognizes and fortifies imperialist industrial property, the latter denies it and struggles for its confiscation; if the former fights to ideologically subjugate the people, the latter strives to arm them ideologically; if the former attacks Marxism, the latter upholds that we must guide ourselves by Marxism as the only scientific instrument to understand reality. They are thus two absolutely contrary paths. The history of the country in this century is a history of struggle between these two paths: the bureaucratic path, that is capitalism submitted to imperialism, and the democratic path, the road of the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and under certain circumstances, the national bourgeoisie. In order to understand bureaucrat-capitalism it is very useful to study and analyze the decade of the 1960s, during which the process of the destruction of feudalism advanced more; in this period industry and capitalist relations in agriculture are strengthened. From another side, the class struggle developed greatly; the trade union movement, the peasant movement, and the student movement reached higher levels. Thus a strong trade union movement developed that in a particular moment took localities and bosses as hostages; the peasant movement also had a great apogee, in the second half of 1963 it ran from the center of the country to the south like a trail of gunpowder; and the student movement rose rapidly. In synthesis, the mass struggles have lived through great experiences in this period of political struggles.

Thus, party politics had a great apogee, on the one hand the reactionary political parties entered into grave difficulties and struggles leading up to the crisis of the so-called “representative democracy” in 1967 and 1968, and on the other the left developed a vigorous political life, within which it unleashed the

struggle between Marxism and revisionism, which later re-took the path of Mariátegui as a condition to develop the revolution.

Another very important deed which is not sufficiently studied is the question of the guerrillas: in 1965 there was a outbreak of guerrilla warfare, including this zone. The guerrilla movement in the country is part of the national process. It is a primary question that must be highlighted because due to sectarianism, sometimes it is considered as simply the experience of an organization and it is not seen as the experience of the Peruvian people. It is a movement intimately linked to the political process of the country, developed according to petty bourgeois conceptions; it is a great experience that needs to be analyzed from the point of view of the proletariat in order to draw fruitful lessons.

It is impossible to understand our situation and perspective since 1970 without understanding the concrete conditions of the 1960s. There is a good thing: in the last few years, the Peruvian intelligentsia begins to understand the necessity of studying the decade of the 1960s. Only by understanding this period will we be better armed ideologically, in order to understand the current situation.

The problem of bureaucrat-capitalism is important because it allows us to understand which is the dominant path that imperialism imposes on a backwards country, on a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country; by understanding this problem we will be armed and equipped to combat the thesis of the capitalist character of the country and its political derivations.

In order to conclude this theme, we will deal with the following: some maintain that to hold that bureaucrat-capitalism is in the country is to ignore its semi-feudal and semi-colonial character; they say it proposes that the nation is capitalist in a hidden manner. This is an error ignores the laws of social development of our country and of the backwards countries; precisely because bureaucrat capitalism is no more than the path of imperialism in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country and without semi-feudal and semi-colonial conditions there would be no bureaucrat-capitalism. Thus, to propose the existence of bureaucrat-capitalism is to propose as a premise that the country is semi-feudal and semi-colonial.

3. THE CONTEMPORARY SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY

a. The Conditions Under Which the Current Regime Grows

Under what conditions does the current regime arise? Let us go back to the end of the 1960s. What was happening? Economic problems: in 1967 the currency devaluation, freezing of credits, etc. An economic crisis. On another side, the struggle of the masses was rising, strong worker and peasant struggles, and we saw daily that characteristics similar to those in the first year of the decade were beginning to present themselves; a future rise in the movement of the masses was within sight. In politics, confrontations and fractionalizing between and within the political organizations of the ruling classes; the famous dispute between parliament and the executive. Furthermore, the elections drew near, creating the juncture for many of the nation's problems to be illuminated, even for the parties in dispute, because in their eagerness to get votes the "dragged out their dirty laundry". Ideologically our country had passed through a profound debate of ideas and this greatly clarified what is Marxism and what is revisionism. Furthermore the path of Mari tegui began to be retaken by applying Marxism to the concrete conditions of the country. Aside from the above we must highlight two situations:

1. The economic situation of the country, which is the development of bureaucrat-capitalism could no longer continue developing itself in the old way, urging its deepening. It needed to open a wider path so that this process in the form of imperialism would advance; with the previous forms it could not advance. We must not forget that for many years the agrarian problem was discussed, there were even agrarian laws: the Beltran project, the laws of Pérez Godoy and of Belaúnde. Another question: in the industrial problem the law of the second government of Prado was now insufficient and raised again the necessity of making industrial parks, give a priority to the state role in planning, etc. There is the plan of Belaúnde of 1967 to 1970 that stated the necessity of changing the social condition of the country in order to construct a "new society, national, democratic, and Christian". In conclusion, the process of bureaucrat-capitalism needed to deepen itself.

2. In the country there was the so-called "representative democracy", but parliamentarism did not satisfy the needs of the exploiters; the popular masses advanced with relative ease putting the exploiting classes in difficult, although temporary, positions. Thus, they needed to substitute the representative modality, parliamentarism. Was this a typical case that only happened in our country? No. The decade of the 1960s implied the fragility of the so-called "regime of representative democracy" in Latin America, the crisis of

parliamentarism, and consequently the need to substitute it for State modalities more efficient for reaction.

In synthesis, the economic necessities of deepening bureaucrat-capitalism and the fragility of parliamentarism, in the conditions indicated, presented the exploiting classes and imperialism with the necessity of a new political establishment for the country. Thus, the current regime arises from economic, social, and political necessities of deepening bureaucrat-capitalism.

b. The Plans and Characteristics of the Regime

There now exists a socio-economic plan which is little talked about. In synthesis it establishes: the need to reinvigorate bureaucrat-capitalism, by way of the efforts of workers and peasants, the former brought about by means of the industrial law and the others by means of the agrarian law. At the same time it proposes the direct and primordial action of the state to open conditions of investment for private capital; the financing of which necessarily comes from imperialism and since this financing is insufficient, it must fundamentally take root from its own resources. This plan clearly illustrates its linkage with the process of bureaucrat-capitalism in the country; daily this plan is linked to Belaúnde's, and with this the entire system of bureaucrat-capitalism of the country.

Very deep between the economic plan and social mobilization, this is another thing that is not very clear. The regime, sanctioning its fundamental measures (in agriculture, industry, and education), has passed to an organizational stage. Today and in the immediate future we develop within organization, mobilization, and participation that the regime is promoting. The social mobilization must be understood linked to the economic process; the same government says that without social mobilization it will not be able to complete its socio-economic plan, and proposes that the social mobilization has a basis, the participation in property ownership. Lately the representatives of the regime talk about social property: what does this serve? This property serves, behind the decoy of participation in property ownership, to mobilize the masses to the benefit of bureaucrat-capitalism. For this reason the basis of social mobilization is social participation.

What does this social mobilization serve? Social mobilization is a political instrument in the hands of the regime to strengthen its conceptions and open a "neither capitalist nor Communist road", that is, to spread its ideas. Upon spreading its ideas it seeks to "avoid that foreign, exotic ideas become embedded in the masses"; what ideas are they referring to? Marxism. This

ideological process is to avoid that the masses learn about Marxism and thus tie them to the bureaucratic capitalist road. Thus, the mobilization is a means of organizing, starting from the property modalities, the masses and channel them into a vertical authority. This is what they mean by social mobilization; it is a masterpiece of the system at the service of their economic and political plan. One of the reasons why the economic plan doesn't advance like they hoped it would is the lack of their so-called social mobilization.

From the above, we derive: the current political situation of the country is centered around the problem of the mobilization of the masses, now and in the immediate future we move within this juncture, which is: who mobilizes and how are the masses mobilized. The government pretends to move them according to their conception; their actions prove it. The regime aims to organize the peasant masses. The law 19400 serves this end, and it aims to organize the workers with the so-called CTRP. "Nationalists, revolutionary participationists"; among the students they create organizations that are born one day and disappear the next. All of this signifies the intention to organize the worker, peasant, and student masses, and it reveals that the contention is happening on and organizational plane.

Nevertheless, despite the propaganda and efforts of the regime and their followers, the struggle of the masses is alive and develops; why? Because the living conditions of the masses worsen as a consequence of the very system. For this reason, no matter how much they scream that it is the "ultra-left" that moves the masses and agitates them, what is certain is that the masses are mobilizing around their own interests, and defend them to the extent that they are conscious. Synthesizing, the social, economic, and political conditions lead to the sharpening of the mass struggle, and the organizational question is one of confronting the serious difficulties before the organizational offensive of the regime, the same one that is incapable of imposing its total control and will have to appeal more to systematic repression (of which there are many and rapidly growing examples).

In conclusion: the ideology and politics of the regime, including organizationally, express a fascist character. The regime's measures, as expressed by their leaders, their style of organizing, their attitudes towards the representative regime, their manner of treating civil liberties, only show one thing: the abandonment of the demo-liberal and representative system and adherence to fascism. The very chief of the *sinamos* said that we are in a pre-revolutionary period, and that all the regimes and political organizations have become invalid in the new social conditions.

From another side, the measures applied in politics, economics, and organizationally truly prove that they are laying the foundations for a CORPORATIVIST system. The essence of this question are the organizations on different levels, in which the bosses, the workers, and the state should participate. Three parts in the organizations, which has been defined as a corporation since the last century. This is the way it has been proposed by those who have upheld corporativism since 1920 and this is the way it is upheld today in Spain and Portugal.

Thus, the current regime is a system that has an ideological orientation of a fascist bent and is laying the foundations for a CORPORATIVIST system. It will be said that here is another thesis. It is very clear. There is a thesis that says that this is not certain, some maintaining that we are dealing with a revolutionary bourgeois regime that is completing a stage of the revolution; if we recall what we have seen this is a position without a political, ideological, or economic basis. Another thesis maintains that it is a bourgeois reformist regime, that it is applying reforms. What are reforms? Reforms are the concessions that the people win with their struggles, or they are the by-product of revolution, as Lenin said. Are the agrarian, industrial, or educational laws concessions to the people? This is enough to show the inconsistencies of this thesis.

Finally: when we emancipated ourselves, we had two problems, of the land and of the nation, the problem of feudalism and the problem of domination by a foreign power. Many years have passed, and our society has advanced. The people of today are not the people of yesterday. We consider that today, after so many years, we continue having two problems: the land question and the national question. From this the process of transformation in our country is scientifically called a NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION, and this can only be led by the proletariat.

Peru, 1974

CONCERNING THREE CHAPTERS OF OUR HISTORY⁵

1979

We have been saying for a few days that we wanted to talk on certain issues. There are moments when men resort to talking in symbols, metaphors or in less intellectual forms. But we would prefer that our group of Communists speak for us in a direct and broad manner.

We want to briefly talk about how the history of today will be seen decades from now. We place ourselves in a plan of revolutionary imagination and look backwards from the future, this is useful and also serves to fortify the spirit. We have clear minds, resolute wills and inextinguishable passions, a revolutionary imagination will increase them even more. Let us think about it and allow our imagination to speak to us from the future. Let us place ourselves decades ahead in the future, in the second part of the coming century.

We are in the final part of the XX Century, very soon we will see the years going by and they will pass even faster as we advance towards the transformation of our society in the third millennium of humanity. The end of the 1990's means the end of one millennium and the beginning of another in which Communism will be definitively stamped on history and humanity will take a leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of liberty.

We should think of the second half of the next Century. History will be written by us and those who will follow are us, the future Communists, because we are an inexhaustible force. When children begin to read and men begin to remember, they will have a history to read and it will recount:

I. HOW DARKNESS PREVAILED

In this society, there was a time in which darkness prevailed. It does not imply that everything was dark, but it means that darkness prevailed. In our country, in our America, there is an old and long tradition and a slow history which should be known. We need to search for the profound roots of who we are, not because we are nationalists, but because we have historical

⁵ From the General National Conference, December 3, 1979

Selected Readings from the Work of Chairman Gonzalo

particularities and nobody can make revolution if they do not have historical roots. We are an old society.

Some twenty thousand years ago, man arrived in these lands in a very primitive state; ten thousand years passed. In about four to six thousand years they began to develop agriculture and basic shelter to protect themselves from extreme weather conditions and they also started sewing covers to protect their bodies. Two thousand years later we already had very productive agriculture and became a great agrarian system. The community develops and the Ayllu starts to be forged: a specific agrarian communal expression of our people. Thereafter, a surplus was generated along with the creation of class differences, property and the State.

Approximately 700 hundred years ago the State began to develop and expand, and as the State grew, exploitation came into existence generating oppression. Thus, the people were divided between the oppressors and the oppressed. Also, these lands were divided into small regions, big confederations and kingdoms: Huari is an example. Time passed and the Incan empire was formed. Then came Inca Pachacutec who brought more imperial order and reorganized the State, making it stronger. This shows that in ancient Peru there were nations that exploited others. The existence of classes was evident, there were the exploited and exploiters. However, such a petrified kingdom did not last long. Strange men came and destroyed the existing agrarian order. But it is not true that the people of the Americas fell on their knees. People resisted and defended the system of exploitation that they had created, but it was a rotten system based on exploitation, and it collapsed when confronted with a superior order.

Thus, in our country the system collapsed and a long and vicious process of feudal exploitation began. Our people were taken to the mines, their blood was transformed into gold and silver for Europe. We view the development of European capitalism as the product of the flesh and blood of our ancestors.

Centuries passed and a system of mestizaje develops. There were rebellions, especially the mobilization and uprisings of the peasants in the XVIII Century, which rocked the system to its foundations. The worldwide actions of capitalism prosper along with the spirit of emancipation of the masses; and since classes are not eliminated and the problems of land and sovereignty are unresolved, these two old problems continue to persist.

The XIX Century involved the transformation of the feudal order to a semi-feudal order, and from a colonial order to a semi-colonial one. We

changed masters from one group of Europeans to another, from Spanish hands into English ones. The new exploiters were enthroned and they were more cruel and sinister than the previous ones, but the people always rose up to fight without truce in an arduous class struggle although with periods of greater usurges in which the system was shaken up.

In the latter part of the last Century a new imperialist order surged, the United States of America. It arrived early in these lands, and in the 1920's its domination was consolidated. Hence, at that stage of our history, darkness prevailed in our lands. At the same time, a new class emerged, the proletariat, and a new chapter begins.

II. HOW THE LIGHT EMERGED AND THE STEEL WAS FORGED

The working class emerged, a new class was born. It was the working class and the international proletariat that was also expressed as the proletariat in our country. That is who we are. The proletariat begins to illuminate the darkness, it is the class that is represented here. This light was transformed into steel.

From 1885 to 1919 there were nearly 30 years of intense class struggle in which the Peruvian proletariat begins to develop and their presence showed a definitive change in our country. The class struggle, international actions, and the struggles of the proletariat and peasants allowed the forging of Marxism and José Carlos Mariátegui, who fought like few others in these lands of the Americas. Our people are not frivolous, as some ignorant people say, we have produced many great people. Mariátegui is one of the few men in these lands who applied Marxism-Leninism to the special conditions and our people begin to find a new untraveled road. A new and more pure light emerges, a shining light. That light we carry in our hearts and souls. That light was founded with the land and that soil became steel. From light, soil, and steel springs the founding of the Party in 1928. The steel was forged, that is what we are. That is the problem of how the light emerged and the steel forged.

In 1928 we were founded and we have never fallen into the criterion of forming another Party. We have come to an agreement that here the class and mass struggle gave birth to a José Carlos Mariátegui who founded the Party, he gave us light and steel and led us on our own way. Since then there has been light and steel in our country. No matter what they say we can never go back.

It is impossible to turn back while there are still classes. That light will not go out while there are still classes; the steel will not melt while there are still classes. But we had a possibility which came apart when the life of our founder was cut short. Although it was negated, distorted and concealed, the unaccomplished task of Mariátegui remained as our Program and Plan, the class embodied it, it continued beating in the class, the combative people and the Communists. We cannot deny that the actions of the class and Communists who fought tirelessly has allowed us to reach this stage.

Time passed. The Second World War came, the most extensive one in history, which marked us and created a more profound bureaucratic capitalist system and a more intense class struggle. The working class kept advancing but never in peace, always in the midst of torments and storms; it was forged with more light, more steel, more strength and invincibility.

Our people were illuminated by a more intense light, Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. We were at first dazzled by the eruption of this unending light, light and nothing else; but little by little our retinas began to comprehend this light, we saw our country, Mariátegui and our reality and we found our perspective: the Reconstitution of the Party. Thus, the chapter on how the light emerged and the steel was forged begins to end.

III. HOW THE WALLS COLLAPSED AND THE DAWN UNFOLDED

Today begins a new chapter: how the walls collapse and a new dawn unfolds. It will be said that our Party, forged with the strongest light and purest steel had a decisive moment. This moment generates the Plan of National Construction, and the Party which was a piece of the flag unfurled to the wind, spreads out in order to illuminate our country. The Communists from all parts of the country were called and a national system was set in motion. Communists rose up and the land reverberated. With the rumbling of the land, the Communists advanced. For this purpose, a landmark conference was held, political bases were established and a course to follow was set.

A flag was planted, a very high flag for a new epoch and with a new objective: Initiate the Armed Struggle. Men struggled hard and the few Communists that existed were gathered from various points and in the end they committed themselves by making a decision: to forge with deeds the First Company of the First Division of the People's Army. In this manner, they began to

clear out the darkness in a definitive form. The walls shook and were breached and with clenched fists, the dawn broke out. The key was the First National Conference, a milestone marking the beginning of a new chapter. The spirits were joyful and our eyes glistened with light. One chapter will say: we carried a heavy burden, we gave our quota, and in difficult moments we buried our dead, we dried our tears, but continued fighting. This is how it happened, and the People's Republic was proclaimed, a national holiday. Once again the work was recovered bringing joy among us. The countryside became more productive and freedom began to palpitate in our people, with the red banner guiding us forever. Our America will shine. It is already a free world which has extended itself to other parts of the Earth. Today old empires sink. They are dirty waters and poisoned ashes which are being swept away. Work is redeemed and the fields flourish in the Red Republic.

They will ask, what are we going to do today? Today we will advance, conspiring so that the shadows will not return and the working class never loses power. This is what history will say. We head towards the inevitable arrival of Communism in order to reach full and absolute light. The blood of our fallen comrades cries out: "light! light! We will reach Communism!" That will be written someday, it will be history.

Today we have made a historical decision. We have expressed with our clenched fist held high to give our lives. Rising to our feet with our fists in the air we have offered our lives. In this moment the crumbling of the walls and the breaking of the new dawn begins.

As you have all pledged, I too pledge: before the banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought, before the effigy of our founder, before the line of our Party and the unconquered banners of our Party: I too am committed to fight and struggle to topple the walls of the old order, I too am a fighter of the First Company of the First Division of the People's Army. I only have one aspiration, like all of you: to serve my people, base myself in the masses who are our support and to struggle for proletarian internationalism. In the International Communist Movement we have only one flag: Marx unfurled it, then Lenin and Mao raised it higher; it is the light that will never be extinguished. We have stood up, and I will fulfill what I must. What matters to me is to complete my journey well. We Communists expect nothing, only to serve Communism. My decision is the same as yours. I too will be a simple fighter of the First Company, I will do what must be done, I will do what is right, expecting nothing except to serve the cause of Communism. This is also my pledge: my

Selected Readings from the Work of Chairman Gonzalo

decision is yours your decision is mine, because we are united. The toppling of the walls and the unfolding of a new dawn begins.

"History has shown us that a just military and political line does not emerge nor develop in a spontaneous and gentle form, but in the struggle against the opportunism of the 'Left' on the one hand, and against the opportunism of the 'Right' on the other. Without combating and transforming these pernicious deviations that undermine the revolution and the revolutionary war, it will be impossible to elaborate a just line and achieve victory in the revolutionary war."

MAO TSE-TUNG.

WE ARE THE INITIATORS⁶

1980

We are the initiators and we should keep this fact deeply in our spirits.

This meeting is historic. Comrades, we will pass into history as the initiators. For some time, the Party has been writing this history on indestructible pages.

We are the initiators. This first Party Military School is both a seal and a breach, it concludes and begins. It concludes the time of peace and opens the time of war. Comrades, our tasks with unarmed hands have concluded, and today our armed words begin: Let us uplift the masses and peasants under the unfading flags of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. One period has ended and the preparations for the new one have concluded. From here, the past deeds are sealed and we open the future. The key of the future is determined by actions, the objective is power. This we shall do, history demands it, the class urges it, the people have foreseen and want it. We must accomplish it and it will be accomplished. We are the initiators.

We should discuss some problems. Just as you, I will also speak with an open heart, sincere words and a rational sentiment. This also has a strict logic.

I. WE ARE ENTERING THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

Centuries of devastating exploitation have passed. The masses have been exploited, subjugated, forced to yield and implacably oppressed. But through all this time, the exploited masses have always resisted, because they have no other sentiment than the class struggle. However, throughout history, the masses were abandoned and had no direction. Their words, protests, actions and rebellions were crushed and defeated. But the masses never lost hope. The class always has hope. The masses are the light of the world that forge themselves ahead. They transform and create instruments with their own hands.

⁶ Speech from the conclusion the First Military School, April 19, 1980

They are the social fabric, the inexhaustible beat of history. Thus, they have been generating ideas, science of the most advanced kind.

But the laws of history that came about as a result of the development of the class struggle have generated one last class: The international proletariat. The class has surged up struggling in the midst of a sinister system, capitalism, which appeared sweating blood and muck from all its pores. A system in whose center the combative proletariat developed unions, strikes, resistance and revolutions. All of this became embodied in Marxism, and the class, endowing itself with a Party, evolved into a mature class with its own interests. The masses of the world finally have their liberator. In the old times, the masses awaited for a liberator. They used to put their faith in the hands of supposed saviors, until the powerful and invincible proletariat appeared, which is capable of creating a true new order. The class organized itself politically, and another history begins to unfold to become a reality.

In one hundred years of struggle, setbacks, and victories, the proletariat has learned how to fight and seize power with arms. The workers took it once in an embryonic form but were crushed with blood and fire. Nevertheless, we remember the Paris Commune, where those who were reviled are today heroes. And their example lives on, while their tormentors are forgotten. The workers with Lenin seized power in Russia and created a powerful State. The class continued fighting and with Mao Tse-tung paved a new road and resolved unsolved problems. The class began to fight under the flags of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. Around the Second World War, the revolution entered a strategic equilibrium, leaving behind the reactionary holy alliances and their previously untouchable tormentors and enemies.

With the powerful international workers' movement, the cresting waves of the national liberation movements, the development of Communist Parties, and the elevation of Marxism to the high summit of Mao Tse-tung Thought, a new situation has been created: We are entering the strategic offensive of world revolution. In the next 50 to 100 years, the domination of imperialism and all exploiters will be swept away. History cannot go backwards. In the hands of the working class, under the leadership of the Communist Parties and through the mighty force of poor peasants, the peoples war will be sustained and grow each day until overthrowing the old order.

The world is entering into a new situation, the strategic offensive of world revolution. This is of transcendental importance. As Chairman Mao said: "The storm draws near and the wind roars in the tower." Thus, the vortex draws near, the vortex begins, and the invincible flame of the revolution grows,

converting itself into lead and steel. And from the din of battle along its inextinguishable fires will come forth the light. From the darkness a light will appear and a new world will be born. The old order of reaction crackles, its old boat leaks and sinks in desperation. But comrades, nobody can expect reaction to retire gently. Marx warned us: Even while drowning, the reactionaries were capable of inflicting asphyxiating chokeholds and desperate blows in order to see us sink. That is impossible. The reaction has the hyena's dreams of blood. Convulsive dreams shake their somber nights.

Their hearts scheme sinister hecatombs. They arm themselves to the teeth but they cannot prevail. Their destiny is weighed and measured. The time has come for the settling of accounts. The imperialist superpowers, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and other powers seek to invade, penetrate, suffocate, destroy and drown everything with terror. But as Chairman Mao said, by attacking, assaulting, and launching offensives they overextend themselves and enter the powerful core of the people. The people rise up, arm themselves and rebel, putting nooses on the necks of imperialism and reaction. The people take them by the throat, threaten their lives and will strangle them out of necessity. The reactionary meat will be trimmed of fat, they will be torn to tatters and rags, the scraps sunk into mire, and the remainders burned. The ashes will be thrown to the winds of the world so that only the sinister reminder of what must never return will remain. Comrades, that is the world today. It has befallen on us to live in an extraordinary epoch.

Thus it is written, mankind never had such a heroic destiny. To the people of today, to those people who breathe, struggle, and fight, has befallen the task of sweeping reaction from the face of the earth, the most illuminating and magnificent mission given to any generation. We find ourselves in this situation: The world revolution enters a strategic offensive. Nothing will prevail against it. The innumerable iron legions arise, and more and more will arise, inexhaustibly multiply, encircle and annihilate reaction. Reaction, which unleashes its bloody claws tearing the flesh off the people, continues to sow discord, embroil, and seeks to sate itself with the blood of the people. But the people's blood ascends like furious wings and the stricken flesh converts itself into a powerful vengeful lash.

Their muscles and actions are converted into steel battering rams in order to destroy the oppressor who will be irremediably crushed. Comrades, reaction will not prevail in any form. The hour has sounded, the revolution will triumph. The struggle will be hard, arduous, cruel and difficult. Victory is ours. The masses will prevail, the peasants will arise, the working class will lead, the

Communist Party will command and the Red Flags will be raised forever. Reaction has entered its final chapter. We will develop in that world.

II. OUR PEOPLE BEGIN TO SEIZE POWER THROUGH ARMED STRUGGLE

In this magnificent epic of world history, our people along with the Latin American working classes and masses have a role to play. This role is being fulfilled. Our people begin to seize power through armed struggle. It is hundreds of years of struggle in which the peasant movements have shaken the foundation of exploitation, but they have not been able to uproot it as yet. In this country the Communist Party was forged as pure steel. It brought light to the people by upholding Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. Comrades, in this country we are embarking upon a third epoch. The third epoch is a battle between armed revolution and armed counter-revolution, which are prepared for violence. Counter-revolution with its old and bloody violence, peace at the hands of bayonets, their damned wars that annihilate people in the prisons, schools, factories, in the countryside, and even assassinating children with hunger and misery in their maternal wombs.

Today, that sinister violence meets its match. The revolutionary violence prepares to take up the battle in arms. Our people with a rich history are finally embarking to the final chapter, the completion of the democratic period of the revolution. The masses tremble, the flood tide rises, and the storm approaches. Reaction in this country as well as in the world, also dreams of soaking the revolution with blood and fire, of drowning it in blood. These are old, dark, and violent dreams. They are not facing the same situation as yesterday. Time has passed and bureaucrat-capitalism has matured the revolution. The agrarian laws promulgated by the regimes have been failures one after another, and the peasants have understood the lesson: nothing will be given to them, nothing will derive from a law. The land must be conquered by their own armed hands. The working class is more aggressive, mature. It has a higher level of consciousness, it is numerically larger, politically more powerful, and much stronger than in the past. The popular masses have grown in our country. The petty bourgeoisie is being proletarianized. It has no other destiny than to serve the revolution and put itself at the disposal of the proletariat. Its only course of action is to serve the revolution according to the dictates of the working class and to forcefully fight behind the road paved by the Party.

This is good to remember, because from this experience we should particularly win over the intellectuals. As Mariátegui has already shown us, the masses must be mobilized and only in this manner will we will fulfill our role and serve the great battle that history has arranged for us. Comrades, we have concluded that we are embarking into the third epoch of contemporary Peruvian society. But just as yesterday, when we expounded upon the two moments of contemporary Peruvian history as part of the process of the development of bureaucrat-capitalism in this country, some condemned us and rejected our thesis and ideals with insolence and contemptible accusations of infantilism. We are putting forth today, with a clear and precise vision, that our country enters a third epoch. This thesis will also be subjected to misunderstanding. But it is no longer possible to condemn us with childish labels of infantilism, because this time, history has shown us to be right in many things, and they will also learn lessons [translator: this refers to the two line struggle within the Party].

Nevertheless, it is not easy for our accusers to easily accept and comprehend it. It requires convincing deeds, concrete actions that pound into their hard heads and shatter their speculation to pieces, so that they also may carry the reality of this country in their spirits. The understanding of the third epoch is key to the advance of our people. What does the third epoch imply? It implies the revolution, the people with arms in hand begin to seize power, that reaction with 400 years of exploitation, added to the exploitation of other epochs, (comrades, we should think clearly, 400 years of foreign oppression, a vile slave system that continues to exist today, a state which although weak, still has force), implies that reaction will try to contain us and oppose the advance of the revolution. It is well known by materialists that what exists refuses to die; reaction exists and therefore refuses to die. It is an unburied corpse but it protests, negates, resists, and attacks with fury and desperation, opposing its placement into a casket for its burial. Thus, we must understand that the revolutionary struggle will be hard, violent and cruelly contested by reaction.

They will send their sinister army armed to the teeth to fight us, assaulting the working class, the peasants and popular masses, spreading their sinister claws. They will try to encircle, isolate, crush and wipe us out. But we are the future, the strength, and history. Comrades, revolution and counterrevolution are also contending forces in our country. They are two parts of a unity of opposites in constant struggle. The reactionaries are armed and concentrated, defending the metropolis and capitals. We are rooted in the countryside, in small villages, with the masses, especially with the poor peasants, with the force

of the people, among their disorganized force in order to organize it into a powerful army. But this will not be easy.

The dark, sinister armies of reaction will fight against us, mount powerful aggressions and great offensives. We will respond in kind, splitting them, making them fall apart, and converting their offensives into a multitude of our small offensives. Therefore, those who encircle will be encircled, the would-be annihilators will be annihilated, the would-be victors will be defeated and the beast will finally be corralled. As we have been taught, the clamor of our armed voices will make them tremble with terror. They will be crushed by their own fears and be converted into scattered black ashes. That is what will happen. This is the way it is, Comrades. Nevertheless, the fight will be hard, long, difficult and cruel.

We need to steel our spirits, be strong, vigorous, fearless and confident in our victory. May the confidence of victory dwell in our hearts in as much as we serve the people and class. The problem is to initiate the armed struggle with decisiveness and firmness. We must deploy it and populate the land with our flags and with sonorous actions that history will record. Comrades, our people are embarking on the seizure of power with arms. We are launching the most magnificent march that our country has ever seen before. Nothing like this will ever be seen again. It will be truly remarkable. This is what we will do! The people, the class, and the proletariat demands it. We can not and must not fail.

III. THE PARTY DEVELOPS ITSELF THROUGH ARMED STRUGGLE

It has been more than 80 years of working class struggle and 52 years of the Party's existence. It took about 10 years for a group of men and women, led by Mariátegui, about 10 years to found the Party. His name is imprinted forever in our ranks, the peoples of the world and the international working class. Time has passed, many of us have fought, and will continue to struggle until exploitation is abolished. That is our destiny. We are a growing torrent confronting fire, rocks and mud. But our power is greater. We convert everything into our fire. The black fire will be transformed into red fire and the red is light. That is where we are, that is the Reconstitution of the Party. Comrades, we are reconstituted.

The Party is a Party of a new type. The purpose of this Party of a new type is to seize power for the working class and the people of this country. The Party can not be developed more but through the use of arms, through armed struggle. That is the hard lesson we have learned in 50 years, a great lesson that we should never forget: We have no power because we have no guns. Like Chairman Mao has written, whoever has more guns has more power. Whoever wants to seize power must forge an army, and whoever wants to keep power must have a powerful army. This is what we will accomplish. The Party has embarked to develop itself through armed struggle, our historical course. We cannot go backwards. Comrades, we can now state that the development of the Party has prevailed. Its possible destruction, as it had to be, has been averted. This is the conclusion we can derive from the 2nd Plenary Session of the Central Committee and the First Military School. We have completed a task that we only now have begun to appreciate.

We asked ourselves, how will we develop the Party? A plain and simple response is: Through armed struggle. In critical times the situation enters into contentious struggles, and according to the law of contradiction, specific circumstances can lead into development or destruction, of course transitory, but it does not cease to become a destruction if that could lead us to sink in the mud or march through a muddy place. The Party has triumphed as it had to. Its destruction cannot take place. The Party embarks firmly, decisively, voluntarily and energetically in its development. Comrades, this is what is derived from these meetings. However, what contradiction is being debated?

The launching of armed struggle presents a contradiction: The old versus the new. The development of the Party through armed struggle is the new, and the old is our accomplishments up to now, including the good ones. Even the best of our achievements have aged, and no matter how much we add to this tradition, we also add to that great garbage which parties, classes and organizations generate throughout decades. We must be very clear on this point. There is only one new thing, to develop the Party through armed struggle. Today, this is our contradiction. Just like in the international arena where the contradiction is between the strategic offensive and the strategic defensive of reaction, in our country the contradiction is between the armed people and armed reaction. This contradiction, through the People's War, will inevitable lead to the triumph of the class and sweep away 400 years of oppression. Comrades, in the Party there is also a contradiction. It calls for serious reflection and no one should doubt it. Today, the Communists should be clear on the contradiction of the old versus the new.

I reiterate, the new is the armed struggle: the unfading flames of People's War, the steel which must be made purer, the sharp sword and piercing spears in order to wound the entrails of reaction. This is new. Everything else is old, it is the past, and from that past we must guard ourselves, because the past always tries to reestablish itself in a thousand forms in the future. Comrades, let us not forget that in order to guarantee the consolidation of 100, we need to advance as 200. Today, advancing with 200 means to initiate the armed struggle, to begin the action is the guarantee of thoroughly sowing the new with lead, crumbling the old walls. Comrades, this is the new. Everything else is old. We should be absolutely clear and understand it. The Party has embarked on its development through arms. This is our fundamental situation. Having stated this point, we have three conditions:

First, we embark on the strategic offensive of world revolution. That is our situation. The revolutionary tide is on our side.

Second, the people set out to seize power with arms. The future will be decided through the advancement of People's War.

Third, the Party begins to develop through the armed struggle.

Thus, the Party will become the powerful Party which the revolution needs, and since it is needed it must be forged. Comrades, the world process, the process of the nation and the Party are interrelated. Therefore, the future is assured, it is palpitating in the armed actions that we will commence to undertake. It is a delicate task that needs to be nurtured with the clamor of our arms, developed with guerrilla warfare, fortified with People's War, cared for and nourished like the seed of an army, giving birth to armed columns, allowing it to flourish into a guerrilla army that we must build into a powerful army. Comrades, these three conditions determine that the Party leads the armed struggle of the masses.

In our hearts, minds and wills, the power of the people is alive, and we carry it with us. In the beginning we have no rearguard or we will have one that is small, weak, fragile and uncertain. Comrades, we must never forget the people's power, the State of the working class, the State of workers and peasants. This State marches with us, we carry it on the muzzles of our rifles, nestled in our minds, throbbing in our hands, and it will always be burning in our hearts. It is the first thing on our minds. We should never forget it. Comrades, the armed struggle will be born fragile and weak because it is new, but its destiny will be to develop through change, from the variation of fragility like a tender plant. The roots we plant at the beginning will be the future of a vigorous State.

Comrades, all this begins to flourish with the modest and simple actions that tomorrow we will carry out. There are three interrelated things: world history, the history of our country, and the history of our Party. These are three convergences, three realities, three combinations and only one final conclusion, only one unmovable truth, only one future. We will respond to the flourishing revolution in our country.

IV. WE BEGIN TO DEVELOP THE MILITARIZATION OF THE PARTY THROUGH ACTIONS AND APPLY THE PLAN OF INITIATION

This is a derivation from the three issues discussed above. It is a logical, necessary, irrefutable and irreversible conclusion. On the three previous issues, the Party in the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee has concluded as follows: The “Development of the Militarization of the Party through actions.” It ratified that through armed actions, the Party will be transformed into a powerful and recognized vanguard of the Peruvian working class, and the legitimate center of the Peruvian revolution. The Second Plenary Session has also ratified a “plan of initiating the armed struggle” that solves a problem unresolved until today, of how to begin the armed struggle.

Comrades, this is not to instill ourselves with pride but to understand our immense responsibility. No trace of vanity should ever be in us. Modesty and simplicity should accompany us, and the more we fulfill our tasks, the more modest and simple we become, because we are the faithful servants of the people and class. We should learn to conduct ourselves in that manner. Many things will change and even more profoundly among us. We have comrades by way of the actions of universal history, by Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, by the labor of our people that begin to define their history through arms, by the labor of fifty years of Party struggle and of innumerable Communists, and as a derivation from what our own founder initiated. We have resolved the problem of initiating the armed struggle. We have resolved the first fundamental military problem, how to initiate the armed struggle. We know what needs to be done and how to arm ourselves. Most importantly, we know how to raise up the peasantry so that through arduous struggles we can unleash guerrilla actions from that powerful land. We know how to confront and destroy their encirclements.

Comrades, the problem of initiating the armed struggle in Peru is resolved. No one should have doubts about it. We have nothing to doubt. The

problem is resolved. Take it for what it is, a derivation from Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, a result of our people embarking on the seizure of power with arms. A derivation from fifty years of the Party. Thus, we will have a historical sense, a comprehension and knowledge of where we stand now, where we are going and the safe port we will arrive.

V. WE ARM OURSELVES IN THEORY AND PRACTICE TO LAUNCH THE PEOPLE'S WAR

We are arming ourselves in theory and practice with the Military Line and with the general political mobilization. We are forming detachments and developing actions to initiate the armed struggle. This should be indelibly recorded. This First Military School is historic. We asked ourselves, what is this school? If the Second Session of the Central Committee is the “Chime of Glory”, what is this school? We will repeat it once more, it is “the Seal and Breach”, because it closes and opens. It concludes our unarmed life and begins our People's War. Comrades, that is this school. Here we have applied the agreements of the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee. We have successfully completed and resolved problems, that the Central Committee shall ratify very soon, at the same time it arranges for the Party's readjustment and the commencing of actions. Thus, the Party, through its central organizations, its leaders and cadres, arms itself with the military line in theory and practice.

Comrades, the last meeting is a demonstration of the distribution of forces: proof of the encirclement and annihilation of pessimism and opposition. It has burned and annihilated what among us and inside of us could have opposed. We have raised up optimism and are filled with enthusiasm. The victories to come have been unfurled. We must understand it in this way. We have seen the fighters march, we have seen advanced fighters with their leaders at the foreground, opening breaches; we have seen the ranks march in order to maintain and support the actions. We have seen at last the definitive action, a passionate and ardent faith to reach the summit. What we have done today is a demonstration of how to act militarily. That is why we say we are arming ourselves theoretically and practically. In this manner, arming the cadres and leaders for basic effectiveness, we have obviously entered the general political mobilization.

Remember what Chairman Mao said: the key is to mobilize the cadres. That has been accomplished. The mobilization has begun, and what we have achieved here will be reverberated tomorrow in more powerful waves, because the masses yearn to hear the Party say that we should begin to take action and they want to know how to do this. Comrades, let us inform the bases of the good news. We must apply the plan of initiation and we should start it tomorrow. It is what the beating hearts of the militants and the masses that work jointly with us desire to hear and dream of realizing. Comrades, the general political mobilization of the Party is on the march. Forming armed detachments and developing military actions we initiate the armed struggle. This begins from here, and that is why this meeting is both a seal and a breach.

VI. WE ARE THE INITIATORS

We are the initiators. We began by stating we are the initiators. And we end by stating we are the initiators. Initiators of what? Of the People's War and the armed struggle that is in our hands, shining in our minds, beating in our hearts and irrepressibly agitating in our wills. This is what we are "a handful of men and women, Communists, paying homage to the leadership of the Party, the proletariat and the people. On this 19th of April, history will state, standing upright they expressed their declaration of revolutionary faith, with their hearts burning with an inextinguishable passion, with firm and resolute wills, and with clear and bold minds, assuming their historical obligation of being the Initiators.

What they decided on April 19th took shape in autumn with boycotts and the harvest, followed through with actions against the reactionary power, aiming at local authority, continued with land seizures and with the peasant masses in rebellion the guerrillas were raised up. The guerrillas generated the powerful army we have become today, and the State based on it. Our country is free..." That is what they will say, comrades. This is materialized in our party decision, apparently simple but of great historical importance. Comrades, do these three final issues also presents us with contradictions? Yes, they do. Here, in the Party, the focus is on our agreement concerning the "Development of the Militarization of the Party through actions" and in applying our Plan of Initiation is the essence of the new, a new part of the world which cannot be detained because our armed hands have surged with more to follow tomorrow.

The new is focused in our country, the armed solution, and the Party's development through arms intensifies through the armed struggle. Thus, on

the question of developing and applying the plan of initiation, the new is the focus and the old is confronted. The old will pledge itself to the opposite, but it is already defeated, it is a great defeat for the Right. Their destruction is already assured, the development has triumphed, let us shape it through thunder, write it with lead, so that it remains written forever on pages of steel upon the ridge of the mountains; so that it can never be erased nor written in a contrary form. That is the contradiction. At the end, everything reduces to a fifth problem.

The contradiction enters to address the problems of arms, war, armed struggle and how to initiate it. If up to now we have acted as an unarmed people, the problem now is that we begin to act with armed hands. From times of peace to times of war. And the times of war have other requirements and other urgent demands. Comrades, the contradictions will accumulate but we will handle them. We have learned to handle history, the laws and contradictions. It is in our hands to resolve them, shaping them with armed deeds. Nothing will stop us. We will pass through times of irreversible war, the contradiction will unfold, it will take us to a successful conclusion. We are the initiators. What contradiction is presented to us? We and the other Communists of our bases, present or not, who reverberate within us, await with anxiety what is decided here. All of us have a problem, a contradiction: the great rupture.

Comrades, the time has come. It is time for a great rupture. We will break all ties with what is old and rotten in order to completely and thoroughly destroy it, for if we have an interest in that decrepit world, we would not be able to destroy it. Men speaking individually can be weak. Each of us should think hard. As an individual, each person can be fragile and weak. But the revolution is all-powerful, and the armed revolution even more so, because it is sustained by the masses, who are the force of the land and led by the Party, which is the light of the universe.

Comrades, we begin the great rupture. We have stated many times that we embark upon that rupture and that many ties shall be broken since it links us to the old and rotten order, and if we don't do it, we could never demolish it. Comrades, the time has come, there is nothing more to discuss, the debate has been exhausted. It is time to act, it is the moment of rupture and it will not be done with slow and tardy meditation, nor in the halls nor in silent rooms. It will be done with the roar of armed actions. This is the form for carrying it out, a correct and adequate form, the only form. It is through actions, as we have studied, that the conscious capacity of people intensifies, the will is tenser, our passions more powerful and our energy enraged.

Comrades, through actions we will find the energy, force, and sufficient capacity for the great rupture. We have embarked upon this. The trumpets begin to sound, the murmur of the masses grows and it will continue growing, it will deafen us, it will bring us to a powerful vortex, with one note: We will become the protagonists of history, conscious, organized and armed. Thus, the great rupture will be open and we will become the makers of a definitive dawn. This is what we have embarked upon, comrades. I want to conclude.

This School, this First Party Military School, is the seal and the breach, it seals the deeds done up to today and opens a breach for tomorrow. What we have accomplished until now is very positive and has borne fruit. There is a saying that people are judged by their deeds. The deed is done, it is before us. There is nothing more to prove. What has been done until now is good. The breach, what we must do, will be even greater and definitively the only great thing we have to accomplish. It will come forth from arms, from the barrels of the guns. It will come forth from the direct action of the Party upon the masses. It will come forth from the People's War.

Comrades, this school is historic. We cannot understand its dimension, we cannot weigh it as it deserves unless we turn our gaze decades into the future. This is the School of the Initiators. It is the name given to it by the Central Committee. In a word it is IAS 80 (ILA 80), which means: Initiate the Armed Struggle in 1980. It is a commitment and challenge. We are deployed. We will surpass it. I am not only saying that we will accomplish it, but we will surpass it, because it is a mandate and a historic necessity imposed upon us by our people, nobody can speak to the contrary. Comrades, the role of the School of Initiators, ILA 80 is: Initiate the armed struggle in 1980. Decades later, in the future, it will interpreted like this: ILA 80, the armed struggle was initiated in 1980. ILA was done here. That word is beautiful, it has a double meaning and if we look at it even more, it has a further meaning. It is the synthesis of what we done up to now. It shapes all the past.

Comrades, what has guided us? To initiate the armed struggle, was not this stated in the Ninth Plenum? Comrades, it is the past summarized, opening into the present, it is the future that must be irrevocably accomplished. ILA 80 is also the implementation of our past agreement on initiating the armed struggle. In the present it means initiating the armed struggle today, this year, and in the future. The armed struggle was initiated in 1980. Comrades, all that we have done during these complex days, in difficult moments, but in the final analysis, satisfactory days, fruitful, healthy, good and vital days, is all realized in the "School of Initiators: ILA 80." The Central Committee and the Political Bureau

of the Central Committee congratulates those present and everyone else because with their actions they helped in the materialization of this reality. Congratulations to the Party, because with its actions, it has made this reality concrete.

Congratulations to the masses and our people, because their actions through centuries have been realized here. Congratulations to the working class of the world, the international proletariat and the peoples of the world, because their actions have borne fruit here. We render homage, as always, to the unfading flags of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, because their grandeur which will always live has been realized here. They, now live within us. The spirit of the revolution dwells in the Party, our people, and our class. Finally it has arrived!

All our struggles have been validated. Comrades, finally it has been realized: Initiate the armed struggle today. Everything that we have accomplished, including errors that have served as experience, are validated here. This is the essence of this School. The Central Committee, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee feels and expresses through this speaker an immense delight, because we have completed a simple and magnificent task: That the initiation of the armed struggle, ILA 80, dwells here and puts the final touches on the past, specifies the present and opens the future. Comrades, we have accomplished this. Thus the future opens with promise and hope. We remember the words of a wise old man: “What life promises you, fulfill it yourself to life.” Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, the international proletariat, the people of the world, the working class, the people of this country, the Party with its bases, cadres, and leaders, all this magnificent action through the centuries has been realized here. The promise blossoms and the future unfolds. ILA 80. Our duty is to fulfill it. What has been given to us as a future, we must fulfill it with our own lives, for the people, workers, and Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. Comrades, the efforts invested are a satisfaction, a delight in the accomplished tasks, pleased by what has been done, and seek no compensation.

**The future is in the barrels of the guns!
The armed revolution has begun!
Glory to Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought!
Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!
Initiate the Armed Struggle!**

TOWARDS GUERRILLA WARFARE!⁷

1980

The first part of this meeting gives us essential conclusions:

I. The Plan of Initiation, its application and the conclusion of the first actions, are brilliant and all-round success of transcendental importance, with great repercussions that have kindled the ever living flames of the People's War in our country.

II. Summarizing the experiences of the General Balance of the first actions has led to further develop the Party's military line, and advanced its consolidation, crushing the Rightism which proposed militarist positions tending to evolve into a bourgeois militarist line.

III. The Party fortified in the forging of its first actions is on a war footing ready to march toward the launching of guerrilla warfare. The first stands out as a brilliant and clear success obtained by the Party, which has a great historical repercussion. The second indicates that in the balance of the first actions, the military line of the Party has developed and advanced. It has consolidated by combating militarist positions that tend to evolve as a bourgeois military line. In this manner, we have obtained a major development and consolidation.

The military line, like all lines, only develops and consolidates itself in struggle. The third establishes and highlights that the Party is prepared to march towards the beginning of guerrilla warfare. We have finished the first phase, which is essential and the basis of this meeting of the Expanded Central Committee. Upon these solid bases, we can outline the national and international context and lay out the plan to begin the guerrilla war. We should be very conscious of the brilliant and great success of the application of the Plan of Initiation of the armed struggle. This plan is of historic transcendence and has shaken the country, placing the Party in the center of the class struggle and political contention. The constant struggle of Communist militants as the expression of proletarian class struggle and the masses of our country has been historically molded and defined in the countryside.

We have embarked upon a superior form of struggle, armed struggle, to destroy the old order and construct a new society. From now on, the

⁷ At the Expanded Central Committee, August 24, 1980

People's War dwells in us and inhabits the nation. Its ever-burning flames kindle and inflame our people. Its flames will be invincible, trembling and demolishing the rotten dominant society, flames from whose hearts will be born the most potent bonfire of the future. It has befallen to us the historical mission of launching the armed struggle in our country and to develop it and sustain it as part of the struggles of Latin America, the international proletariat, the peoples of the world and world revolution, which we serve by adhering faithfully to the principle of proletarian internationalism. The struggle will be long but fruitful, bloody but brilliant, and hard but vigorous and omnipotent. It has been said that the world will be transformed with arms, and that is what we are doing now. From the barrels of guns everything will come. We are already living it and we will see it more as the People's War develops.

To the Communists members of this Party, in this country, who have broken the stonewall of more than fifty years, their spirits must be no less than vibrant today with the realization of this great balance which proves and tests the achievements, counting, measuring and weighing the future. We are very conscious of and responsible for our actions. We have nothing to be vain about except to fulfill our duty. We have nothing to brag about, since glory is for the class, the people and the Party. Nevertheless, we need to be optimists, assured that the pebbles of the new order begin to fall into place. The future begins to be written. We will write the new history with flowers of stone in bronze forever more. We will tame the hills, we will write a new history with the points of swords, the light of fire, tearing down iniquity and giving birth to the future. For every Communist Party that assumes its role as the armed vanguard of the proletariat, there comes a time to tear away the centuries of oppression. It lets out its war cries and assaults the heavens, the shadows and the night. It begins to tear down the old and rotten reactionary walls, it begins to rattle and crackle like dry leaves before new and tender flames, before young but crackling bonfires.

The People's War begins to sweep away the old order in order to inevitably destroy it. From the old, the new shall be born. And finally, like the pure and glorious phoenix bird, Communism will arise for all time. We should unfurl optimism and overflow with enthusiasm, furthermore thinking that we serve to carry out a task that will last forevermore. We humans are mere fragments of time and heart beats, but our deeds will remain for centuries stamped on generation after generation. Men march inevitably towards their end, but humanity, the working class and their creations will never end. We will people the Earth with light and happiness. With us, with our armed struggle, the

authentic and only true liberty begins to be born. We are trumpets of the future, the inextinguishable fire that crackles in the stormy present.

Long Live the Irresistible March Towards Guerrilla Warfare!

TO GIVE ONE'S LIFE FOR THE PARTY AND THE REVOLUTION

1987

The inexhaustible bosom of the people nourished them with frugal food and made them walk; class struggle shaped their minds; and the Party, as the primary and highest social form, raised their political conscience, arming it with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Guiding Thought, empowered their combativeness by organizing them in the People's Guerrilla Army and, smelting them with the masses of the poor peasantry, steeled their bodies and souls in the inextinguishable forge of the People's War. Having become prisoners of war, they never knelt down and, persisted in fighting, mobilizing and producing amid fiery struggles. They converted the sordid dungeons of the decrepit and rotten Peruvian State into shining trenches of combat.

The smashing, well-aimed and implacable blows dealt by the People's War and its unstoppable advance stirred the reactionaries' hyena entrails, reverberating everything like continual lashings and peremptory demands in the turgid and disturbed nightmares of the Apra government, which is today already fascist and corporative, even more so in the unbridled ambitions of the apprentice demagogue "führer" who leads them; thus, the reactionaries, the administration and the now genocidal García Pérez dreamt bloodthirsty and dark plans for a devastating and decisive blow that would lead to the crushing of the People's War. The prisoners of war's rebellion is the public unmasking and condemnation before the world of these sinister plans for massive killing, in defense of the revolution and their own lives. The monstrous and infamous genocide carried out by the armed forces and repressive apparatuses through governmental orders and given carte blanche, full of blind hatred against the people and perverse homicidal fury, was shattered by the ferocious, unbending iron resistance of the comrades, fighters and children of the masses who raised ideology, courage and heroism daringly displayed in an ardent, warlike challenge. But if the reactionary beast drank blood until satiated in order to impose the peace of the cemeteries, those lives, wretchedly and cunningly cut short, were transformed into imperishable ones, forming the monumental trilogy of shining trenches of combat in El Frontón, Lurigancho and Callao, historical landmarks that will proclaim more and more the greatness of the Day of Heroism.

The would-be devastating and decisive blow wound up falling on the heads of those who engendered it and sank the fascist and corporativist Apra government and the one who acts as president, in violation of his State's legal norms, resulting in a serious political crisis and the enormous loss of prestige from which they cannot yet extricate themselves. The rebellion of the prisoners of war at the cost of their own lives won for the Party and the revolution a grand moral, political, and military triumph. Even more, they notably served the success of completing the great leap with a golden seal and of laying the groundwork for the new plan of developing base areas, whose first campaign has been the greatest setback for the Peruvian State to date and which has had the widest repercussion of the People's War both inside and outside the country. In this way, the prisoners of war, like the great masses of history, go on winning battles beyond the grave, because they live and fight within us, conquering new victories. We feel their vigorous and indelible presence shining and palpitating, teaching us today, tomorrow and forever how to sacrifice our lives on behalf of the Party and the revolution.

Glory to the Day of Heroism!

Peru, June 1987

CHAIRMAN GONZALO

CHAIRMAN GONZALO'S PHILOSOPHY SEMINAR

1987

Reference texts:

- *Introduction to Dialectics* F. Engels.
- *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* F. Engels.
- *The Part Played by Labor in the Transition from Ape to Man* F. Engels.
- Lenin's *Karl Marx Selected Works* Volume II.

Many have argued that what makes up the mind of man is mathematics. One can no longer think like that. Others propose logic. Neither mathematics nor logic are systems that make up the mind of man. It is philosophy, the process of knowledge through different stages and modes of production.

Dealing with the laws governing the development of man, Lenin went so far as to establish that philosophy was an eminently political necessity. "The core of ideology is philosophy." Lenin set about studying the whole process of philosophy from the Marxist point of view. He studied Hegel's science of logic.

- "Philosophical Notebooks" Lenin.
- Volume IV "On Practice" and "On Contradiction". Chairman Mao.
Without philosophy there is no party.

The process of philosophy: reject the criterion that philosophy is only going to be given from the Greek world. Later studies show that this is a prejudice, contempt for the thought of other peoples. Process in China, India. As civilization advances, peoples strive to know the foundation of things, the why of things. Egypt, Mesopotamia, the Hebrew people: places where there is a process of development, still considered as a pre-philosophy; the process of development is denied from the earliest times. With their own religions: the Egyptians argue that the waters are the primordial principle, a symbol of life, but they do not know where the Nile comes from; when it expands the Nile leaves some islands and in them the spirit develops. They pose two questions: Spirit and Matter. What's important is that they always posed a principle that is matter.

The Greeks are the ones who posed a more developed philosophy, linked to the process of the market, the appearance of currency and linked to

science. Thales predicts the first eclipse. The Egyptians knew mathematical questions by practice; it is the Greeks who explained and demonstrated the facts. Advancement in scientific knowledge and the class struggle of slaveholders, sharpening of the struggle between merchants and farmers, "Greek democracy" that has a dictatorial process before democracy. It is intended to make us see (that) philosophy is developed outside of classes, 7th and 6th centuries BC.

Materialistic school. *Arche*: origin, the reason of things is the origin: the beginning of things is the waters, it is the law from which everything derives. Original chaos and the order in things. The Egyptians already said this. He made inquiries and found shells (fossils) on the islands. Another thinker said that the origin is air, always a material origin. Heraclitus: he states that the origin of things is fire: material reality is therefore materialistic. War is the origin of all things, the struggle of two opposites and from this struggle we have a process of constant development, everything is a permanent flow, no one bathes twice in the same waters. Here we have the dialectic. Genius intuitions. Of them we have been left with only phrases, nothing more. Aristotle's history is all. Genius intuitions, but not fundamentals. The contradiction of philosophy is against religion. It breaks away from religion. Idealism appears. Parmenides denies the dialectic and arises as a counter-position to Heraclitus: he has two heads, one affirms and another denies, does not reason. He states that the origin of all things is being: it is absolute being, encompassing everything; things exist because they participate in being.

Metaphysics:

Being

~~Non-being~~

Being has no movement; if it were to move, it would be non-being. Men at that time could not refute this.

Materialism starts from prior matter and from a process of knowledge. The first are the materialists, the idealists come later.

Democritus: great materialist. Theory of atoms: that which cannot be split. A minimum material instance. All that exists are small particles that cannot be broken, eternal and in continuous movement. Thus he refutes the

idealist theories of Parmenides of the infinite divisibility that would lead to non-existence. It is not until 1900 that the indivisibility of the atom is refuted.

Knowledge is a reflection of atoms in the head. The effluvia intertwine and this is reflected in our head, from which we have error. He proposes that man develops socially. The integral part of the Polis. This reflects what he sees in his own city. Slavery is harmful because it lowers man, because it debases the human being, does not allow him to give the best of himself; freedom corresponds to it. Man must be free, to enter the field of morality, to know what would allow him to live freely. [Democritus is] the greatest exponent of materialism in ancient times.

Materialism has always developed with an understanding and respect for man. Its thought was harmful to society and the criteria of the ruling class; all idealistic criteria are linked to the merchants and the slaveholders. The sophists argue that man can be educated and thus elevate himself. Man is the measure of all things. In Socrates we see how the Greeks were extremely social; individualism was not developed.

Plato: linked to the aristocracy, very wealthy, systematizes all idealist thought. He maintains that there is an appearance and a reality, that the senses are deceptive, that the appearance is idea and the world is matter:

Appearance —————> Idea

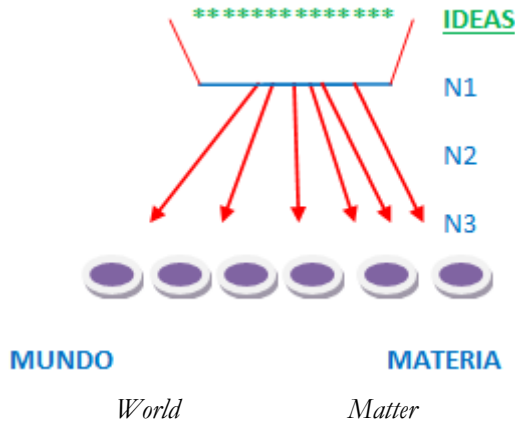
The world of ideas that can only be reached through reason —————> Reason

World —————> Matter

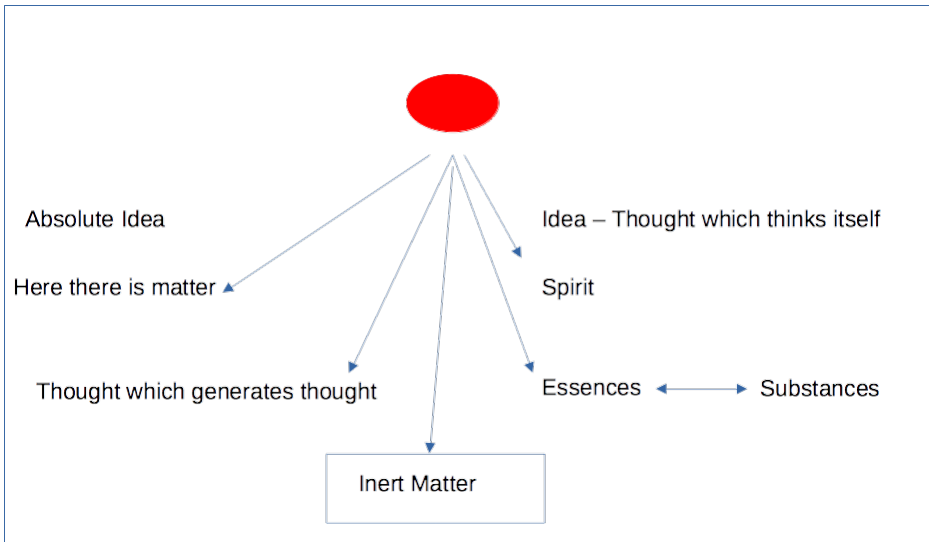
The reality of things participate in the ideas. He raises a trinity of ideas: good, beauty, and truth and these three are sustained by being. Theory of the joint participation of ideas. He raises the Platonic communism that has a precedent in Egypt: a reactionary communism. He understands that property generates struggles. For him the democratic order was harmful; he thought of a government of elites. For him education was harmful. He understood it because the aristocracy was being attacked, destroyed by the merchants. Society: a set of workers who are classified according to how they are educated: workers, warriors, etc. And there remains a group of elites (fascism). [He rejects teaching]

music because it corrupts. He destroyed every part of Democritus that came within his reach.

Aristotle: disciple of Plato. He informs us of everything the materialists thought, criticizes Plato and relies heavily on the scientific and social knowledge of the time. Aristotle based himself on scientific knowledge and criticizes Plato:



Things exist but they have a material reality and a form; if they did not have form then they would be confused. Things exist because they have a materiality and a form. Aristotle arrives at idealism from a real base; he puts the idea into reality. He begins to handle the concepts and forms, essence: a substance and an essence. There is a primary reality, a superior essence that imprints movement, because there is a prime motor mover, god, the word that knows itself. He arrives at idealism craftily. Things really exist, this cannot be denied but Aristotle comes to the thought that thinks itself, and this thinking of itself is what sets reality in motion.



As a concrete reality, matter has no movement; it is the idea that moves, first mover (prime engine). Conceptual dialectic. The positive thing about it is that matter exists. It is another form of Platonism.

Schools:

The Romans could never overcome this: Neo-platonism as decadence that amounts to mysticism (Plotinus). The church cannot affiliate with Platonism.

The Middle Ages. Philosophy begins to develop as a vindication of reason. On account of the Arabs, it is through them that Greek philosophy began to be known and one began to know Aristotelianism. The Arabs develop a materialist criterion and differentiate philosophy from theology. Philosophy deals with the earth and theology with heaven. The Arabs and the Hebrews are the ones who have influence.

Realists and nominalists.

The realists apply the Aristotelian theses: the reality of things and ideas also exist independently.

Nominalists are nothing but empty mouths, without real content, they are derivations extracted from things. Religious ideas are confronted.

Peter Abelard: begins to handle formal logic, creator of deductive logic. He handles logic in a dialectical way (debate, discussion). He is very

important for French thought. He attacks religion. Marx considers nominalism to be of great importance.

Duns Scotto is very important, he was a Franciscan. The root of modern materialism is in this personage: how to combat religion? Communion.

Escuelas:



Schools:

Materialist dialectics
Metaphysics *Idealist dialectics*

How many times and how many men receive communion? There would no body of Christ left. All those who opposed were dead, a very violent, very hard time. They love to present the philosophers as desk-men; the reality has not been like that. Poison and the knife has been the way of debate in philosophy.

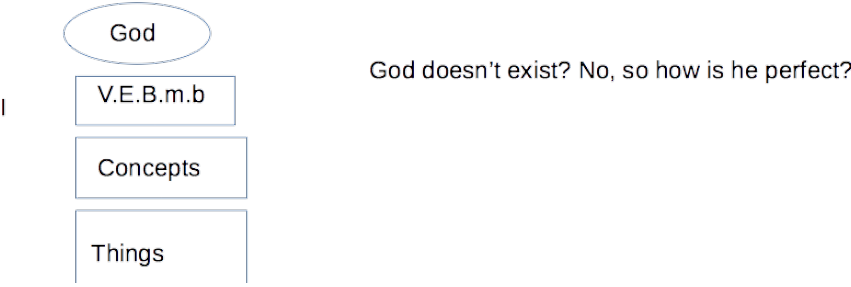
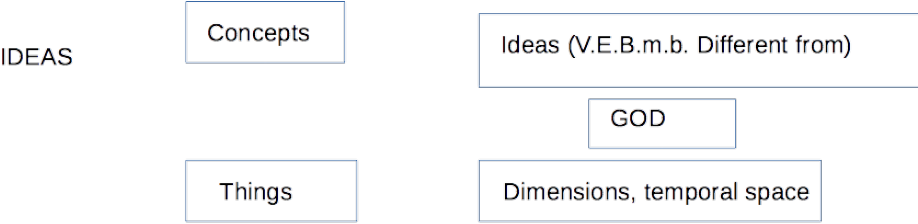
Thomas Aquinas: Thomism, (Augustinianism–neo-platonism), an Italian who joins the Dominican Order. Disciple of Albert the Great: he argues that one can rationally understand the Catholic religion. Reason is not opposed to theology. This is based on deforming Aristotle; it is not a development of Aristotle, it is much lower. His most important work is Being and Reason (Bertrand Russell). In his lifetime he was persecuted by the church and that is fundamental. (Ockham together with Scotto refuted Thomism).

The philosophical process begins to unfold with the bourgeoisie (Francis Bacon) defending experience (the *Novum Organum*). He develops an inductive logic that will serve science. He states that his thought encompasses the thought of men (he recognizes the theology, but as separate).

Descartes (1596-1650) was a disciple of the Jesuits. He understood that what in one people is affirmed, in another is denied; that science did not have solid foundations (Cartesian coordinates that allow taking geometry to algebraic analysis). He was a student of the physics of the world, of matter; he takes up the thought of Democritus. He is a materialist in that field. He raises

Selected Readings from the Work of Chairman Gonzalo

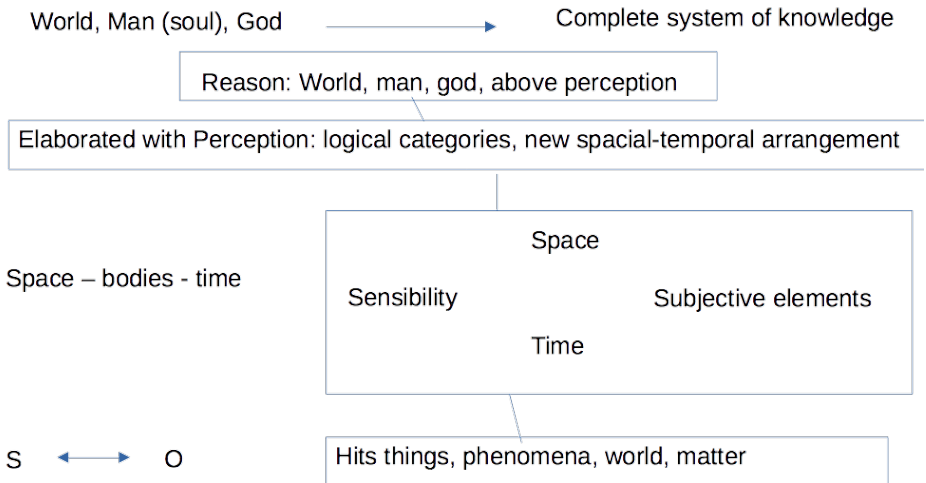
methodical doubt (it is not the type of skepticism that questions knowledge, that does not trust knowledge) you have to doubt in order to arrive at an evident knowledge. He raises the deception of sight. The senses deceive, you cannot believe the senses, but there is something that is evident. I cannot doubt that I exist: here is an incontrovertible truth. I doubt, therefore I exist. Whatever it may present to reality, there is something undeniable. I think, therefore I am. Evident truth before whose existence there is no doubt. I exist and my thoughts exist. You see reality through your thoughts.



I have ideas, it is because God exists and he has given everything. Everything exists because God exists. When Descartes develops science he is materialistic, but when he develops metaphysical ideas, he turns towards the philosophy the "I", from here onward the foundation of bourgeois thought begins. The materialist school is contrary in taking up Democritus. German Philosophy: Leibniz, Kant, and Hegel. 17th-19th century (1830). 150 years or so. Lutheranism: Clean out the church stables.

Germany gives the most advanced thought of the idealist school. Leibniz: great mathematician. Develops logic, rethinks Aristotle's logic. He did not spread his thoughts. He develops a rationalism. A logical analysis is possible. Logic with symbols to handle it as in mathematical analysis. Set of axioms that, following a calculation, can solve all absolute truths. Theory of monads: closed entities. They communicated through a small window, ideals, self-movement. Problem of dynamics, but this is conceptual because it is idealist. He dedicates himself to analyzing human knowledge, linking mathematics and physics.

Kant (1724-1804). He focuses on the problem of knowledge. Critique of pure reason. He proposes that reality exists but as a phenomenon, as that which appears: that which light shows. He establishes a difference between phenomena. There is a part of the thing that appears and another, the thing in itself, that does not appear. Matter exists but is not known. He establishes a relationship between the knowing subject and the known object, but there is a part that is not known. Analyzing the things, we have sensations that I grasp through my sensibility.



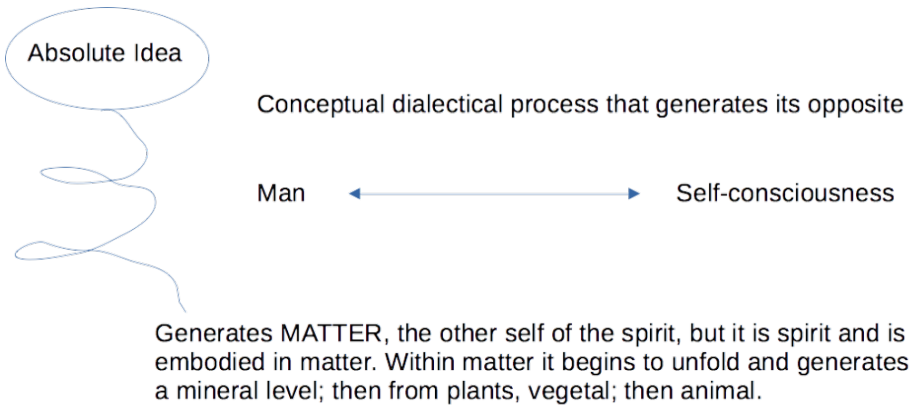
Elaborate concepts

Categories: logical system of knowledge. I only know the phenomena, the thing itself escapes my knowledge, knowledge becomes an elaboration of

pure reason (PR), an elaboration between the subject and the object (things), but the subject is the most important thing. There is a reality that I can know and another that I cannot know. The thing allows itself to be known.

After Kant, neo-Kantism develops, which dissolves the thing in itself; the thing in itself is an elaboration of the thing in itself. It goes from idealism to ultra-idealism. Kant has come to know by understanding. Critique of Practical Reason: when he analyzes the soul he comes to think of freedom and this can only be attained in God. Freedom, the soul and the lap of god. He orders the understanding of knowledge and expresses the limits of idealism (reason). Why is it said that God exists? In order to explain that everything has a beginning and an end one looks for the cause and this cause is God, but when stating that God is the cause, what is the cause of God? The same argument refutes the existence of god.

Hegel: he asks himself what is laid out above. What Kant intends is to know reality from his "I"; he does not focus on the objective. The problem is to start from the objective. Hegel analyzes the process of philosophy, he thought that all philosophers were before him. All other peoples did not exist for him, they were nothing. He develops a theory of dialectics that allowed the understanding of the entire process of matter (his problem is that it was idealist). The process unfolds by contradiction and is it unfolds it generates the problem of quantity and quality, appearance and reality. He understood the dialectic as a process of contradiction between concepts, ideas. He will deny the application of his own dialectic. He states that there is an absolute idea. The absolute idea is objective reality whose process is contradiction at the level of ideas only. This is similar to Aristotle but without starting from matter. This idea is judged by the very process of contradiction to matter. Being the spirit itself, it begins to unfold until it generates man and the spirit becomes self-consciousness, the spirit negates itself. Man: society, knowledge, science, art, religion, nation and then generates the state. The state transforms itself, a great transformation that finally becomes Spirit, god. Absolute Idea:



This has an understanding of a while development of materialism but it is idealistic. Two parts, its idealism—disposable—and its materialism that is acceptable.

Materialistic process in France: Diderot. Eternal matter, it has no beginning and no end, He goes so far as to pose that there is an internal self-movement that drives matter, but does not explain why. But the antecedent of Marxist philosophy is classical German philosophy. After Hegel's death there a division, some begin to criticize Hegel's idealism; the one that interests us is Feuerbach. He criticizes Hegel's idealism but does not differentiate Hegel's materialism from Hegel's idealism. This leads him to discard Hegel. The phenomenon of alienation in the face of religion (alienation, *enajenación*, is Hegel's word) is not a thesis of Marx, this differentiates the young Marx from the acrimonious Marx [*amargo*]. Marx rejects it because the solution is revolution, emancipation.

Hegel: work removes man from his essence as a thinking being, a national being.

Marx analyzes the causes of alienation.

Feuerbach argues that before alienation the center is man, not God. The relationship is love, charity, to see for the other, motherhood: it is a subjectivist position of how one self relates to another self. Christianity without Christ. The important thing is the materialist critique.

Marx and Engels lead a struggle against Feuerbach's individualism.

Marx and Engels are going to develop the Marxist philosophical process. Marx developed and Engels disseminated. The Theses on Feuerbach form the basis:

1st: defect of all previous materialism: failing to take practice into account. The earlier materialism had developed into empiricism or seeing reality as something passive, not understanding how matter acts and how man through his work change reality (grasping reality). All empiricism is a bourgeois position. Postulate: understand reality and transform it.

2nd: Practice and truth, practice as proof of truth. Marx criticizes Feuerbach, he never conceived sensory perception in its transformative capacity. He had diluted the religious essence in the human essence, a Christianity without Christ, the inability to understand the social world, social relationships.

3rd: social life is essentially practical. The human mind is misled by a set of mysticisms. Only by understanding practice can you sweep away mysticism. Since they do not understand practice he calls it contemplative materialism. Civil society: the most it had advanced was the study of institutions, which is the root that sustains it. Transforming the world: philosophers have done nothing more than contemplate the world but the problem is to transform it.

With this document he demarcates the camps.

Reckoning with his previous thoughts in a new position. New criteria are posed to form the new ideology. Thus is posed the economic process of society. Communism is posed as the first great revolution in the world, since all earlier revolutions were the substitution of one class for another.

All philosophy in its long journey had developed a theory of dialectics and of materialism. They rightly criticize the Middle Ages. A dispute that wanted to resolve questions without seeing reality. They could see the developmental milestones well. They affirm their resounding materialist position. To access materialism demands a process of movement derived from contradiction.

Althusser denies that Marx and Engels took up Hegel's dialectic. He argues that first science develops and then the leap occurs. The discovery of Marx and Engels is the historical materialism because they founded the materialist theory of history and then dialectical materialism. According to Althusser, the development of Marxist philosophy was pending. It is stupidity from start to finish.

Plato and Kant are idealists. Althusser denies the scientific process that has been developing since the 17th century. Since the end of the 16th century it was thought that the earth was something that changes, a form of movement.

Dialectical process. Chemistry: there is no Chinese wall between organic and inorganic chemistry. Biology: the cell is discovered, in animals transitional forms are seen: as links. Theory of evolution. Thus science breaks with metaphysics as processes, developments. Althusser cannot deny this. Thus science demanded a dialectical explanation. Hegel had put the dialectical process on its head. What Marx does is put it into the material. This was never done before. Dialectical materialism is able to enter into knowledge and transformation by man acting on matter. The scientific character of Marxism is questioned; matter is transformed through practice.

The ideology that the exploiting classes have generated is inverted because it gives an idealistic explanation of history. Our ideology is scientific because it is a true reflection verified by its practice and its class character. Althusser's theories lead to a new surrealism, making possible the merger of the theories of Kant and Spinoza. It takes a bourgeois rationalism and a bourgeois idealism. This process has a trajectory of 2500 years; it has a solid historical foundation in which the best has been gathered, resulting in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The application of dialectical materialism gives rise to historical materialism and the scientific understanding of society.

There has been a process to demonstrate the economic foundations of society. "What Marxism does is economically criticize society" say those who attack it. Ideology is generated from the economic base and from society. The problem of ideas and the action that sustains them has not been left behind.

Dialectics: Engels is the one who deals with this question: three laws. Unity and struggle of contradiction, the leap, and the negation of the negation. They understood that the 1st is main. If they had not understood the dialectic they would not have been able to develop *Capital*. It is not a circle; Marxism is a dialectical process that will continue to develop. This demarcates us from all the philosophical processes that are closed.

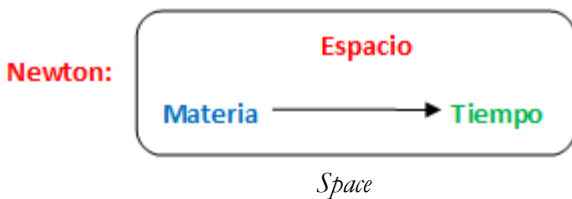
Hegel is inconsistently dialectical and we are consistently dialectical. This is the greatest revolution there was in the history of mankind. Marxist philosophy lays the foundations of development. Knowledge can never be exhausted; it is a process that gets closer and closer to the truth and discards new errors. Denials of Marxism: this phenomenon has been constant. In *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*, Lenin upholds and defends Marxism and develops it. Theory of reflection. Set of reflections that generate consciousness. Reflection is a characteristic that is a characteristic of matter, action, and reaction. Consciousness becomes a long process of the characteristic of matter. The atoms. In 1900 a German physicist stated that there is a very small amount of matter necessary

to make a leap, quantum theory, with this nuclear theory opens. What Einstein made is a new theory of space-time.

Newton: There are two absolutes as inseparable entities, what he suggests is that space and time are relative. Experiments showed that at high speeds there was a reduction. The problem is that time and space vary according to velocity, two absolutes become two relatives. Gravity of matter that moves in wider ways. Quantum physics breaking the atom, negating matter, Lenin says that we are beginning to know the primary particles. Matter in motion has a quantitative and qualitative form, we are seeing new forms of matter because matter is eternal movement. Lenin rejects that matter is dissolved.

Partisan character of philosophy and the fight against Empirio-criticism. Quantum physics is going to make room for the denial of materialism. If we know the velocity of the electron, we do not know its location, so causality is denied: this has two meanings, it expressed the correlation between a cause and an effect, and the other is the problem of predictability. Cause-effect has been confused with predictability, but cause-effect still exists. Basing on predictability they deny the cause and effect. So what we have found is chance [*casualidad*] and what has been discovered is another form of matter. New modalities of matter, new forms.

Two parallel lines meet from the inner side add up to less than two straight lines. 5th Postulate. Presuppositions. Geometry of parallel lines. (Triangle) 180°, for many centuries this was considered to be the only geometry.



Matter → Time

Gauss stated that it has no proof, whoever changes this postulate generates another geometry. When the conic comes they find that it is inadequate. Reimann's geometry. 180° Lobachevsky-Bolyai geometry. (drawing).

Before we talked about a flat space, another curved and another concave. Thus matter has many manifestations. Convex, flat, concave? (future development).

Instead of questioning what they do is confirm. Matter is inexhaustible. How many processes will develop. Eternity of matter in eternal motion (understood as the most basic possible problem). Nowadays matter is conceived as an interruption of nothingness. And what is nothingness? Separate space from matter. Jordan. Nothingness is a space, and space is a modality of matter.

Cosmogony: it is discovered that there are stars that move at great speeds: the so-called expansion of the universe, they reach the concentration-point of the universe. This, they say, shows that there has been a beginning and therefore it is not eternal and, second, that it has a limit. They say that before there was no universe, the initial moment of creation. This comes from fact that the environment we know it is 15,000,000,000 years old. Others go so far as to say that it is 6,000 million years old; the facts show that the part of the universe we know started at that time more or less. What is being done is generalizing what little we know. What is affirmed for a part cannot be affirmed for the whole. It is intended (Russell) to introduce divinity through the back door.

Movement has a quantitative and a qualitative aspect.

Bourgeois philosophy enters a process of clear decline. Lukács argues that the contradiction is not materialism-idealism, but irrationalism-rationalism. This poses an acute crisis of bourgeois philosophy.

Bergson: develops a metaphysics full of lachrymosity.

Nietzsche: superman theory, an extraordinary pen. Theories that seek a way out of imperialism. Moral theory based on the betters and their dominance. Privileged men and sheepish minds; it aims against Christianity, trying to reestablish the morality of the lords. Christianity confuses goodness with virtue. Christians are the most powerful, the strongest. This is pure racism.

In the 1920s it tries to re-launch. Neopositivists: emerging in Vienna circles: positivism, reactionary response of the bourgeois captains. It raises the need to believe in positive science, denies the existence of laws in reality and proposes that reality are things that we elaborate, knowledge. The new science is a religiosity, the best world is the bourgeois world and the problem is order and progress.

Neopositivists: start from phenomena, leads to scientism. It is the subject that elaborates a system of science, law, falls into a development of logic.

Develops systems derived from science, mathematics.

Pythagoras: He proposed that the essence of things was the number, that everything could be measured, Plato develops it. All knowledge is reduced to formulas. The downside is replacing reality with formulas; the fact is that

mathematics comes out of material reality. The circle came out the wheel; it considers math a substitute for reality. (To make a hole in the wall with an integral and not with what the integral represents—a drill). Logic: they begin to analyze, they argue that language is insufficient and that it is necessary to replace it with symbols, to arrive at something you have to simplify everything. It is positive in the sense that it gives us a development of logic, symbolic logic. They speak of criteria of verification, proof of truth. It ends up not analyzing matter, but rather analyzing the analysis of matter (logical analysis).

Wittgenstein. The most consistent of the neo-positivists. “I can’t talk about the world, you can ask me how I interpret the world, the world is not knowable, what I can speak about is the knowledge that I have of the world, I cannot speak of the others systems because I don’t know them, the best thing to do is shut up, you can’t say anything about anything. One reaches the ineffable. Be quiet. Divinity, the limit of contemplation”. God in sight. Scientists and analysis of science, logicism. Absolute denial of knowledge. Russell, Bertrand. Comrades in ancient times, Nunme and Rosses, their analyses lead to the undoing of knowledge.

They all arrive at agnosticism. *Principia Mathematica*. Creators of modern logic. Platonic mathematicism, logicist, platonic plain-mysticism “Everything I have said up to now is invalid and I don’t know if what I am saying now will be valid”.

Analysis, they stay in disassembly and do not get to the assembling; they do not make any synthesis. However, they discover paradoxes that allow us to advance, when we think we are thinking in finite terms and they have been cleaning up philosophy and science. Knowledge has entered a critical moment, there is a moment of synthesis, and once again it begins to expand. Demolition of the concepts of science, everything has entered into crisis. The proletariat will establish these new principles. The process of demolition is not over. There is a class that is dying and its principles die with it. Confusion is the result.

Existentialism: Heidegger. 1920. Analysis of existence, the creator God. Philosophy must focus on the existence of things. Man is the expression of existence, he comes from nothingness and goes to nothingness. He knows nothing of his existence, where he comes from. In his travels is anguish, when this happens there are two attitudes: to face or to flee from that anguish. The problem is facing his anguish, facing his death, being for death, that is the identity of man, to live for death. It served Nazism, it is an expression of a class that is dying. Expression of philosophical decadence.

Sartre: He is from the same school. Man is a being without existence that seeks existence and seeks to cling to something to express his existence, man reduces everything to nothing, seeks to cling to things, but that's a false start, in another human being, each one becomes nothing (*Aubilar*). Another way out is love, but it is the same situation, then there is God, but God does not exist. Then there remains your own freedom, this is the solution. You only have the alternative of living or dying. Pessimism, no way out, freedom is a relationship that occurs in society.

Marcel: man comes from God and goes to God, the problem then is to reach God. All these are expressions of the class that has no way out.

Neo-Thomism: Maritain. The church remains in Thomism. Catholic thinkers have thought to adjust Thomism taking into account the development of science in philosophy. The fact of wanting to take a feudal conception shows the ideological poverty of the church. It is born dead because it is a philosophy that is already dead. Husserl's successors: Deconete's application. Phenomenology. Tries to overcome Deconete's mistakes. García Baca. García Morente, from the school of Neo-Thomism. Chairman Mao used to say that one cannot be vaccinated against idealism if one does not know it.

Marxism: the main law: Plekhanov argued that Marxism poses monism. Materialism is the base, the guideline is the dialectic and in this the main thing is the contradiction. Marx-Engels do not get to raise what is the core. With C. Stalin there is a regression. Chairman Mao argues that the only law is contradiction and the others are derivations. With Chairman Mao we arrive at philosophical monism; the only law. This does not imply that the system has been completed. Questions concerning freedom, on the one hand it is consciousness of necessity and the other aspect is transformation of necessity and this is principle. Dialectic: the most general laws of the development of the natural world, of the social world and of knowledge, understood as the reflection of material reality in the mind of man. The difficulty would be in the laws. It is Chairman Mao who proposes a single law, considering the law of contradiction as the only law.

Individualism. Plekhanov: he proposes monism, though he starts from the laws and classes, he also takes into account the individual as the individual can disrupt it. Assume the law and carry it forward, from the purest form and fulfill the role that the revolution demands. There are peculiarities but the main thing is to take up the law and carry it forward. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism combats individualism and its root egoism, fighting the "me first". The individual develops historically, private property strengthened individuality and

selfishness, the bourgeoisie strengthens individualism to the maximum, to the point of excess. Marxism, centering on the class, rejects individualism, selfishness, in the P. is where it imprints a new way of being, shaping us. Action in the class struggle is what is principle; working collectively dilutes the education we bring with us.

By making the revolution, the world is transformed and so are men. The root is selfishness and it is a basis for revisionism and it takes time. Uprooting individualism will be a long process. As new and more developed production relationships are generated, it will be more and more reflected in the ideas throughout society.

Communists must be trumpets that announce the future. Ideology allows us to develop and advance in the struggle against selfishness. We must be the most advanced. We work for a goal that we will not see. Increasingly reduce individualism and selfishness. It is in struggle where action hits individualism the hardest. Ideology is what allows us to advance.

Lima, March-April 1987

SPEECH ON THE DOCUMENT “CONCERNING GONZALO THOUGHT”⁸

1988

“Concerning Gonzalo Thought” has is an introductory part, although it is not expressed, it is an introduction and then there are five problems.

Let's look at this introductory part. It says: “**All revolutions, in their process of development, through the struggle of the proletariat as the leading class and, above all, the struggle of the Communist Party that raises their unrenounceable class interests, give rise to a group of great leaders and mainly one who represents and leads it, a Great Leader with acknowledged authority and influence. In our reality this has taken shape, on account of historical necessity and coincidence, in Chairman Gonzalo, Great Leader of the Party and the revolution.**”

It refers to great leaders and if we take into account what Lenin established in “‘Left-Wing’ Communism: An Infatle Disorder” in relation to masses, Party and great leaders; but it is not as the Comrades say that this is the thesis of Lenin, it is not so Comrades, they have not read Lenin well, it is necessary to read Lenin well, to know him well. If you think carefully, here is specified the problem of revolution, ruling class (proletariat) and Party, the three things he is specifying; that is what must be taken into account. We recommend Comrades, we must read well, study and think, striving for the greatest objectivity in order to understand what the document says, not what one has in one’s head; that what one has in one’s head disturbs, understandable, but we have the need, the obligation to be objective, we must combat subjectivism, it is very important, therefore, pay attention to that, Comrades. There are three questions that are invoked: *revolution, proletarian ruling class and Party*, the action of the three, that is what it says; these three questions generate great leaders.

Every process of whatever type, also a literary type, has great leaders, has heads, and these bosses do not arise in great numbers and it takes time for their forging; Lenin insisted on this, but this already comes from Marx and is further developed by the Chairman. It is a handful of great leaders that a revolution generates

⁸ Speech by Chairman Gonzalo at the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Peru, 1988

in decades, what is generated in a greater quantity are leaders, an even greater quantity of cadres and a whole mass of militants.

In our Party we have established many years ago a relationship between masses, cadres and leaders with a proportion; that proportion given the great growth of the Party, of fighters and masses that work more closely with us has unbalanced that proportion and from there derives the need to worry a lot about increasing militancy but without forgetting a good selection, which is possible because having more access to the masses, there will be more candidates on which to select militants; we need to form cadres, these documents contribute to that formation and also to increase the number of leaders.

Comrades, think about the following: in '76 we calculated more or less the need, then, of about 75 leaders to make the Party march, but the Party today is many times bigger than it was in '76; and then think that we have an Army and think that we have New Power, please copy what I am saying, I do not believe that you have a great memory; Comrades, some here believe that what is said is for nothing, then they do not know what to broadcast or they broadcast nonsense and they do it late and badly; we are in Congress and the attention must be very high, we are all tired, understandable, but it does not count, the obligation counts; well, excuse this intermission but it is necessary, Comrades if you compare that in '76 we needed 75 leaders, how many will we need today, do you understand? And mainly what, we need a Central Committee with an adequate number, and a good Central Committee, well versed in Party politics; that has to make an effort to study the theory in the books or texts that the Party indicates, not in others, Comrades, because in that way we break the unitary formation that we must have; these are questions that we must think seriously. Any revolution that is seen shows that only in decades a number of great leaders are forged. If we think of the glorious Bolshevik Party, that of Lenin and Stalin, but mainly of Lenin who was its creator, its forger, think, we speak of great leaders and we have a Stalin, we have a Sverdlov, a Dzerzhinsky, a [...] to highlight real great leaders, few; the Chinese Revolution is similar.

But the main thing is that a Great Leader is generated, a single head that stands out clearly, *far above the others*, and that is what we have to understand and it is not by the will of anyone, *it is the very reality of the revolution, of the class and of the Party*, which demand and promote this conformation. If we speak of a Great Leader, we have for example Marx, a notoriously outstanding Great Leader, a summit. If we speak of the great Lenin, *there is another Great Leader of recognized authority and immense ascendancy*; nobody could compare Stalin with all his merits and greatness, *with the immensity of Lenin*, nobody, and I reiterate, once

again, Lenin did not have the specific position of General Secretary because there was no such thing, it was – I repeat – that the General Secretariat in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) arose precisely by Lenin’s own proposal, and in him is also expressed a glorious summit. Or in the case of China, Chairman Mao Tse-tung; obviously none of the great leaders generated by the Chinese Revolution can equal Chairman Mao Tse-tung, none of them, and in him we also have a glorious summit.

These are the three greatest leaders of the World Revolution, because that is their dimension; that they were also Great Leaders of their Parties and of their concrete revolution is subsidiary because *the main thing is that they have been Great Leaders of the World Revolution* and have established for us, then, the great process of the development of Marxism, shaping Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. On another level, without pretending in any way to compare, there would be no reason, but to show that *every revolution needs a head*, think for example of Albania itself – I do not intend to relieve those figures but even in those revolutions there must be a head – Hoxha in Albania; Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam; Kim Il-Sung with all his rotten idea of reign, was the head, that is the problem. So it always happens, there is nothing strange about it, but *it is a necessity; Engels already insisted on this and told us that even a literary movement has a head that represents it*.

The problem lies in the definition of a Great Leadership with “**acknowledged authority and influence**”. *Are they unquestionable authorities? Yes, for the red line, but that they are questioned and denied, bread and butter.*

Was not the leadership of Marx denied, questioned, and even vilified by a miserable creeping servant of the Tsar like Bakunin or by an “academic scholar”, full of ideas that he could not even manage to understand, like Dühring, who said that our glorious founder Marx, said that he was a Prussian soul and of a Chinese knowledge, so did not say that individual whose name is only remembered because it is in a work by Engels? Was Lenin questioned or not? Of course; how many times did Trotsky’s gymnastics fight against Lenin, how many times did he deny him? One should not be fooled by that gross misrepresentation which proclaims that Trotsky was a Leninist, Lenin himself described him as a Menshevik gymnast, a late Bolshevik, who jumped on the bandwagon; one of the things for which Trotsky fell silent at the death of the great Lenin, when it was necessary to select the General Secretary and, obviously, with all the limitations that Lenin himself pointed out, it was up to Stalin, who was a real and authentic Bolshevik, to exercise it, one of the things that led Trotsky to keep silent and to be mute at the Congress where the Great Leadership and the recognition as Secretary of Comrade Stalin was agreed upon

was the fear that Trotsky had that the letters in which he attacked and denigrated Stalin would be taken out, we must not forget that, Comrades; and I bring this up because the Trotskyists are very much like fools and want to pull the wool over our eyes, and today they continue to do so, infecting the proletarian movement, and some believe them and repeat them; many things that are being aired today about Stalin are nothing but crude repetitions of what Trotsky said. Did not Zinoviev also attack Lenin? Did not Kamenev and several others even say that Lenin was mad when he proposed to prepare the October Revolution and even went so far as to denounce it? These are realities Comrades.

And in the case of the Great Leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the struggle was even more fierce; that struggle, as it is said in the history of the Communist Party of China (CPCh), the struggle against the 28 and a half Bolsheviks, those who had learned in Moscow and wanted simply to apply Marxism-Leninism to China strictly, mechanically; was not Chang Kuo-tao himself a student who became a Communist and believed himself called to great destinies and even dared to pressure the Central Committee to recognize him as General Secretary, thus denying Chairman Mao Tse-tung whose leadership had been recognized in the year '35 in Tsunyi? These are facts, Comrades; Liu Shao-shi himself, who for a time supported Chairman Mao Tse-tung, did he not become a denier of the Chairman? Or Teng Hsiao-ping, has he not even developed a personal hatred against Chairman Mao Tse-tung? And even Chou En-lai himself, in the first part, up to the year '35, did he not fight the ideas of the Chairman and deny Chairman Mao Tse-tung, did he not label him as a peasant and even, in an absurd criterion, did he not call him a rightist? These are things to remember. Great Leadership is recognized in the midst of intense struggles.

[...]

It can therefore never draw attention to the fact that there are problems around Great Leadership. And it is in every Party where such a problem is aired; but *notwithstanding this, the objective reality itself generates great leaders and a Great Leader, mainly a Great Leader who becomes even a symbol of a revolution*, or a world one in the case of a Marx, a Lenin, a Chairman Mao Tse-tung. An example can show this condition in which sometimes we do not think and do not see: the prisoners of war in the Spanish civil revolution, did they not reanimate their optimism and reanimate it by simply seeing a Lenin's insignia, as Marcos Aria himself says, even he says so, and he is a revisionist.

These are things that we must understand and it is time that, mainly the great leaders, we understand things because, Comrades, it is in the great

leaders where especially these problems occur because there are those who believe they are called to great destinies and do not even know how to measure their capacities nor know their limitations and are not capable of seeing the objective, what they have rubbing their own noses in it; I am speaking of historical facts, Comrades, I am not speaking of eagerness, I am speaking of historical facts. The problem is not simply to have read or repeated, the problem will always be to apply and therefore to understand. *We believe that this is important.*

Also in this first paragraph, we must emphasize how Chairman Gonzalo has become the Great Leader of the Party and of the revolution. [...] Here it is good to emphasize this point of historical necessity and coincidence, a point that is misunderstood and misrepresented; for example, the Comrades prisoners of war have made a ruckus, a jumble about this problem, when it is clear and simple, I am referring to what is called necessity and coincidence in Marxism.

Engels dealt with this point and said that *the social order is governed by necessary laws*. The word necessity has a clear and precise meaning, it means that it is fulfilled, that it governs, that means, independently of the individual will of people; necessity, philosophically speaking, is what has to be fulfilled, the law that has to govern, that means necessity. In social and literary processes, for example, there is a need for someone to lead a movement, to be the head of a school; if one sees, for example, the formation of the Spanish language, which is the one we speak, was concretized in a Cervantes, or can that be denied, it had to have someone to shape it, to establish its rules, to lead the management of the language, as in Italy it is Dante – not the Dante, as they say, it is just Dante – there you have an example even in the literary world. In the scientific world, contemporary physics is made up of a group of notable theoreticians, and yet it needed someone to lead it in the understanding of the macrocosm: Einstein, it is undeniable, it was necessary for someone to lead that, it is a whole different way, he takes a great step in the physical understanding of the world; or in the understanding of the microcosm a Planck who opens a new world in physical science; it was necessary, the law demanded by necessity that someone lead the movement. Or in a revolutionary struggle as they are in the examples ventilated in Marxism; the French Revolution necessarily had to have a head, for example Robespierre, so it is. Engels said, then, every movement at whatever level must have a head, but it is a general law and as such it is necessarily fulfilled.

Whereas coincidence – which is the most precise name because sometimes I use chance, which is too imprecise, however it can occur, Comrades,

but the term is coincidence – *coincidence*, Engels said, *is nothing more than how necessity comes into being in certain circumstances, specifying a character, taking shape in a person*. The example of physics comes back, there it is proved, once again, how it always generates opportunely the men that the society needs to develop a field of its development (do not worry to put the names because they are sometimes complicated and difficult), if one looks at physics in the 20th Century, we have an Edington, a Sommerfeld, a Planck, we have a Schwinger, a Heisenberg, a Schrödinger, a De Broglia, a multitude of very remarkable physicists; any of them, if it had not been Einstein, would have come to establish relativity, so it is said in physics for example, if one reviews any history of physics one finds that, but chance, circumstances specified that it was Einstein.

That is how necessity is understood, as a law and chance as a concretion of that law and that is how the heads establish it, that is how the great leaders and a Great Leadership are established. The problem is simple and clear; the confusion derives on the one hand, from the lack of knowledge or from the imprecision of knowledge, from the confusion that one has, apart from the struggles in which such a situation is defined. I give you a historical example, of science, and I appeal to science because in science there are some very special conditions, however, there is also in the midst of disputes, for example, who created or discovered the infinitesimal calculus, Newton or Leibniz, a dispute for centuries and it is still being discussed, a conclusion has already been reached; in that case, for example, both discovered independently; however, the followers have fought tooth and nail to say it was Newton, others, it was Leibniz! And that one stole from the other, what is clear is that the best notation was that of Newton, that is why the one he established is used. There you have it, even in science, where apparently there should not be such contentions, but everything is contradiction.

In any human activity, consequently, wherever the axes are placed, every school, every development needs a head and a Great Leadership and around that Great Leadership there is contention, but a Great Leadership is specified by historical necessity and coincidence. And in our case, in our Party it has been specified in Chairman Gonzalo; we can like or dislike him, Comrades, I dislike the summer but it does not pay attention to me, it continues to develop, do you understand what I mean? You will say, but social laws are not like physics, oh yes? Read then what Marx says, that they are different does not mean that they are not laws, they have a specific field, but social laws are as much laws as physical laws.

Well, how is the Great Leadership specified here: **“Great Leader of the Party and of the revolution.”** It is not an ambiguity, why, what are we talking about, what are we dealing with, of the Fundamental Documents of the Party, consequently of the Peruvian Revolution, that is how we have to understand what it says here; we know well that outside they will say other things, it will be their problem, not ours. The Great Leadership was established, recognized – because that is what is appropriate with a Great Leadership, to recognize it – in the Enlarged National Conference of ‘79, in struggle, where two factions contended; one, that the Great Leadership was that of Chairman Gonzalo and that this had to be recognized; another, invoking Mariátegui, I stress, invoking, is that one of the “defenders of Mariátegui”, as he himself said and expressed his thought, the Lima of the balconies and the colonies, what a way of seeing Lima! For a Communist position, it is good for a poem by Don José Gálvez but not for a Communist, and after all, those who invoked Mariátegui did not even know him and were 50 years behind; they are facts, Comrades, that is what we are talking about. Perhaps we should ask ourselves, did Mariátegui usurp or was he recognized as a Great Leader, have you ever heard that? No, and why, have you asked yourselves, he did not have time, we must never forget that the founder of the Party died less than two years after the Party was founded; that is why you will never find any document that says Mariátegui’s Great Leadership, who was to blame? It is therefore the concrete situations that were expressed in the reality of the country.

The second paragraph tells us: **“Moreover, and this is the basis upon which all leadership is formed, revolutions give rise to a Thought that guides them, which is the result of the application of the universal truth of the ideology of the international proletariat to the concrete conditions of each revolution.”** What must be emphasized here in order to understand well and not to make mistakes is that a Great Leadership is based on a Guiding Thought, on an application, requiring time for a Great Leadership to be recognized. It is not as it is said that the Great Leadership sustains Gonzalo Thought, it is absurd, Comrades; on the contrary, that is what the document says very clearly, because it could not be understood in any other way; the Comrades, how do they think, believe that Thought is a washroom, that the Great Leadership sustains it, how absurd, it is sustained, it is based on a Thought, otherwise there is no Great Leadership; that is what we must see and that is clearly stated here.

Then it tells us: **“[...] a Guiding Thought indispensable to reach victory and to conquer political power and, moreover, to continue the**

revolution and to maintain the course always towards the only, great goal: Communism". What function does a Guiding Thought fulfill, that is what is clarified here, what is it for and it says: "**indispensable to reach victory and conquer political power**", without it, do not even dream of conquering power, otherwise, take a single case, there is none, Comrades; but moreover, what is it for, "**to continue the revolution and to maintain the course**". The problem of maintaining the course is fundamental! Because if it is not maintained, we deviate, and if we deviate, the revolution is slowed down, hindered, unnecessarily dilated and can lead to great defeats, which will demand new and more incessant and redoubled efforts to continue struggling and fighting for the revolution, for the conquest of power and for the goal, why, the revolution is uncontainable, but the Guiding Thought fulfills a function, a necessity.

It goes on to say: "[...] **a Guiding Thought that, arriving at a qualitative leap of decisive importance for the revolutionary process which it leads, identifies itself with the name of the one who shaped it theoretically and practically**". Let us understand well, we cannot continue with the absurdity of bourgeois empiricism of the 18th Century, anti-Marxist, of separating theory from practice, it is to deny that practice is the source of knowledge. Do we not know that without practice there is no knowledge, we do not understand that, what do we understand then, nothing, is it not the starting point of differentiation between Marxism and bourgeois position, is it not perhaps the first of the theses established by Marx on Feuerbach?

[...]

They foolishly throw themselves against principles and historical realities that deny class, deny ideology, that is the ABC of Marxism. Here the remarkable thing is that a moment of "**qualitative leap of decisive importance for a revolution**" is coming. What is our situation, because now Gonzalo Thought is being raised? Because we are in a qualitative, decisive leap, or a Congress, is this Congress not implying the balance of what has been done, is it not implying the establishment of the Base of Party Unity, is it not implying the laying of solid foundations for the conquest of power in the whole country, as a part of and serving of the World Revolution, do we not see the leap, are we so blind, so short-sighted, so stupid, politically speaking? Comrades, we can no longer allow in the Party such immaturity. A mature Party and the maturity of a Party is the consequence of a long historical process, it is not that of individuals; that is why they do not understand, they are confusing the maturity of the Party with their own individual immaturity, that is the concrete root that those who do not understand this problem have, it has personal roots in that

aspect, it is their concreteness, their own reality that they never manage to see, why, they do not search, they do not think in depth, that is it Comrades. That is the reason why we are making this leap in the problem of Thought.

The document clearly states: **“In our situation, this phenomenon specified itself first as Guiding Thought, then as Chairman Gonzalo’s Guiding Thought, and later as Gonzalo Thought.”** Well, let us look for the Party, revolutionary, historical correlation of why these specifications were produced. Guiding Thought, 2nd National Conference when we prepared ourselves to generate a vacuum in the countryside and create New Power, that was the concrete historical foundation. The reference to Guiding Thought of Chairman Gonzalo, 1st Plenum of the Central Committee of the 3rd Conference, what was agreed there, “Great Leap”, within what plan, to conquer bases, important or not in the People’s War? Obviously, Comrades. There you have the correlation. Gonzalo Thought, I have already said why, it is not free elucubration. Please, Comrades, always think, meditate and refer the things that are raised to the Party circumstances, to the circumstances of the People’s War that is being carried out, to those of the Peruvian Revolution, to the needs of the class, of our people, or is it that they separate the Party from the class and the people, without this meaning that this vanguard – as some say – of the proletariat and the people, no, Comrades, the Party is the vanguard of the proletariat, it is not of the people. Here is something else more remarkable.

Let us continue, it says: **“[...] because it is the Chairman who, creatively applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of Peruvian reality, has generated it; thus endowing the Party and the revolution with an indispensable weapon which is guarantee of victory.”** Is there or is there not the creative application, a little word that some do not like, is it mechanical, then, when it is simply said “application”, in some mouths! Not to say “creative” is to propose, because of what they think, mechanical, well, prove it, prove it, it is not a problem of regurgitation, confusion, that is not the problem, it is to see the history of our Party, the problems that it is solving. Because defining Guiding Thought, Chairman Gonzalo’s Guiding Thought and Gonzalo Thought are problems of the Party, as they see everything through the person, through their individualism, they believe that it is a personal problem and thus they subjectivize the revolution and turn it into a subjective reality, not an objective one. Comrades, it is fine for a Frondizi, for an idealist but not for a Marxist; to reduce a social problem to subjective questions may be fine for a Feuerbach, before Marx. That is what must be seen at the bottom of these things that are there; everything has its foundation, it is not

a word written by chance, nor is it a word said unthinkingly, which does not express its errors because it is unthoughtful.

Well, the following paragraph says: **“Gonzalo Thought has been forged through long years of intense, tenacious, and incessant struggle to uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, to retake Mariátegui’s path and to develop it, to reconstitute the Party and, mainly, to initiate, maintain and develop the People’s War in Peru serving the World Revolution, and that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism be, in theory and practice, its sole command and guide.”** Here there are things that jump out that must be seriously reflected; in short, we have until August because now we only need to take a position and what we do is to give foundations because the comrades need it to be able to explain because it is understandable that there must be questions. First thing to emphasize here: It **“has been forged through long years”**, yes, through long years, it is not forged in one day or in two years or in three years, in long years! We will give you an example: when we had a meeting with the Comrades from Spain, when we saw the problem of Guiding Thought, of the Thought that we call Gonzalo Thought, Comrade Roberto who heads the Communist Party of Spain, he already believed that he was “Roberto Thought”, they had just been founded not even six months ago and he already believed that he was “Roberto Thought”; it cannot be so, Comrades, how easy it would be, no, that way no Thought is generated anywhere on Earth, why? Everything has a process, absolutely everything, there is nothing that does not have a process, reason: because everything is contradiction and contradiction has a path, a process. Has it been intense, well, the struggles we have had, I think that proves it; tenacious, well, I think I have been persistent, otherwise we would not be talking today about Gonzalo Thought; incessant, of course, we must not falter, we must persist, continue, continue, continue, we must not get tired!

But about what things? The first thing it puts forward is to “Uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism” and it is understandable, because if we do not start from the universal ideology, what application are we going to talk about, or are we going to create – by originality – another world outlook of the proletariat? In this we are consistent with the practice taught to us by Marx, Lenin and Mao and the great Marxists that have been on Earth and that the founder himself taught us, **“the only way to be free and to create, is to take the conception of the proletariat as a dogma, understanding it as such”** [...]. Some people find it hard when they hear the word dogma in Marxism and I tell them that they have not read Lenin well; **“our old dogma”** and

the specific, “our old inapplied principles”, I think we all understand that, it is confused, because the mind repeats “Lenin has said that it is not a dogma”, but there he refers to that there is no mechanical application, we must try to understand what Lenin says in each case and in each moment, we must not be content with repeating and with superficial appreciations; we have already seen how Chairman Mao Tse-tung can only be understood if we see as a unity all that he has done, Lenin the same and Marx, the same. That was then, Comrades. Without having done that, what application would there be, it would be a ridiculous joke, I think.

It says **“to retake Mariátegui’s path and to develop it”**, key: develop it. On this we have contended, Comrades, for many years in the Party; it fell to me to draft the document of the 19th Plenum of the Central Committee, in ‘66, and there it is written, “Red Flag” No. 18 – for the collectors – there it is written that Mariátegui’s path should never be abandoned, that it should be continued and developed; please remember how we have been fought against. Of the Party, what have the “Mariáteguists” of the PUM said, those former Vanguardists, that we took Mariátegui not seeing that Mariátegui died on the in 1930 and that Peru had advanced a lot because we were already in the 1960s, is that not what they said? Well, Comrades, that is why the problem was to develop it; there are reasons for this — if there is time we will see when we deal with the question of Mariátegui – not to propose not to develop it is not to understand that time goes by and that new problems arise, it is to want to remain in the 1930s and, beware, Mariátegui is not a universal Thought, beware, of reconstitution of the Party and, mainly — of what? — of initiating, maintaining and developing the People’s War. This is extremely important, this is the main thing in this reconstitution of the Party, to take up Mariátegui again, why? Because in the process of Gonzalo Thought it is the People’s War which has driven it, which has led it to become concrete as Gonzalo Thought, I believe it is so, Comrades; any analysis, however lightly we might make of the history of the Party proves what I have recently said: the People’s War has made us deeply understand things already known and has made us understand many new things, solve new problems and see new problems still pending solution and it also makes us understand that there are many more things that will have to be dealt with. So, in this process, one cannot but see that retaking the path of Mariátegui and developing it is not ignoring the founder. I believe that of the founder, of Mariátegui, many speak but few know about him, too few, and if they have studied him, not in depth, I say [...], how wrong it is to bring things by the hair, Comrades.

Then it tells us that **“It is of substantive necessity for the Party to study Gonzalo Thought.”** **“Substantive necessity”** for the Party, what does this imply, of the leaders, of the cadres, of the militants and mainly of the leaders, I stress, mainly of the leaders! Because this is where the mess is expressed and this is not by chance, it has always been like this in every Party; let us remember what we have often said: the Central Committee is the eye of the storm, that is, the center of the storm, we must never forget it. But why do we need this study, **“for a more just and correct understanding of the General Political Line, and mainly of the Military Line”**, for that, because if we do not see the Gonzalo Thought, how are we going to manage the General Political Line and the Military Line which is its center if they are derived from that Thought? It is like taking away the river’s source, the lagoon from where it begins to flow, or do you see a river with no beginning, maybe you imagine that rivers have no beginning — as some have only seen the Rimac, a little piece, don’t they, they think it has no beginning — nonsense, Comrades, any material fact on which your eyes rest, you always see the path, the process, the origin of something. Consequently, it is necessary to handle the line and the Military Line in particular; if we begin by denying it, if we begin by putting Mariátegui, I ask: very well, tell me now the General Political Line of Mariátegui? And you are not going to repeat the five elements, reason: because I did them, Comrades, tell me now the Military Line of Mariátegui, what is it; now tell me if with that line we are making the People’s War. We do not meditate or think and the Chairman has told us that we have to use the head, he has told us that the head is for thinking, that is what the head is for, that is what the Chairman said, and the work of the leaders is to move the head, mainly to move the head; the Chinese Comrades said: **“The leaders have to move the head but some leaders think they have to move their feet”**, very expressive, very expressive what the Chinese Comrades said!

Well, when it comes to Gonzalo Thought, where to aim, there it says: **“aiming at deepening the understanding of the particularities of the Peruvian Revolution, what is specific and particular”**, because if we do not take the specific, we would badly manage this revolution that the Party leads; but as the Party is an entity composed of a system of organizations, it does it through its leaders, its cadres, its militants who move all the rest of the organizations. Only in this way will we **“serve the Great Plan to Develop Bases, the development of the People’s War and the perspective of conquering political Power countrywide”**. These are eminently practical reasons, reasons of exigency, of peremptory demands, needs of the Peruvian Revolution; as

there are many narrow empiricists here, then I think they understand well if we say “practical”, they are practical reasons! Although I understand Comrades, to speak of practice demands leaving narrow empiricism, of course, because with narrow empiricism they will never handle practice from the Marxist position, never, they will do bastard empiricism, narrow, crawling, *San chopansism* they will do, yes Comrades, we must understand things well.

The other paragraph says: “**We must study Gonzalo Thought, starting from the historical context that generated it**”. Reason: it is the class struggle that forms us all, it is the Party that nourishes us with Marxism.

INTERVIEW WITH CHAIRMAN GONZALO

1988

OBJECTIVES

THE DAILY: Chairman Gonzalo, what prompted you, after a lengthy silence, to do this interview? And why did you choose “The Daily”?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Let us start by saying that the Communist Party of Peru, which has been leading the People’s War for more than eight years now, has expressed itself publicly in a number of different documents. We have always considered the pronouncements of the Party itself to be much more important, because that way it is crystal clear that it is the CPP that has dared to initiate the People’s War, lead it, and carry it forward.

The reason we are taking this occasion to speak in a personal interview like this one, which is the first time we have had the pleasure to do so, and specifically with you, has to do with the Party Congress. Our Party has accomplished a long-awaited historic task with the convening of its Congress. For decades we struggled hard to bring this about, but it’s only the People’s War that has given us the conditions to actually accomplish it. That’s why we say that the 1st Congress is the offspring of two great parents: the Party and the People’s War. As the official documents state, this Congress marks a milestone, a victory, in which our Party has been able to sum up the long road traveled, and has established the three basic elements of Party unity: its ideology, which is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought; the Programme; and the General Political Line. Furthermore, this Congress has established a solid basis for advancing towards the prospective seizure of Power. The Congress, then, is a great victory, and it is one of the main reasons for giving this interview. Other reasons have to do with the profound crisis that our country is going through, and the ever-growing and more powerful development of the class struggle of the masses, and with the international situation and how revolution is the main trend in the world.

As to why we are doing this interview with “The Daily”, there is a very simple reason. “The Daily” is a trench of combat and today it is the only tribune that really serves the people. We believe that though it would have been possible to be interviewed by others, including foreigners, it is better, and more in accord with our principles, to be interviewed by a paper like “The Daily”, which

is really struggling every day under difficult conditions to serve the people and the revolution. That is the reason.

THE DAILY: Chairman Gonzalo, have you weighed the possible implications of conducting this interview? Let me ask you — don't you run some risk talking publicly at this time?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Being Communists, we fear nothing. Moreover, our Party has steeled us to challenge death itself, and to carry our life on our fingertips so that we may give it whenever the revolution demands it. We believe that this interview has overriding importance: it serves our Party, serves the revolution, serves our people and our class, and also — why not say it — serves the international proletariat, the peoples of the world, the World Revolution. Whatever risk then, is nothing — especially, I repeat, forged as we are by the Party.

1. IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS

THE DAILY: Chairman, let's talk about one of the ideological foundations of the CPP, Maoism. Why do you consider Maoism the third stage of Marxism?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: This point is crucial, and of enormous consequence. For us, Marxism is a process of development, and this great process has given us a new, third, and higher stage. Why do we say that we are in a new, third, and higher stage, Maoism? We say this because in examining the three component parts of Marxism, it is clearly evident that Chairman Mao Tse-tung has developed each one of these three parts. Let's enumerate them: in Marxist philosophy no one can deny his great contribution to the development of dialectics, focusing on the law of contradiction, establishing that it is the only fundamental law. In political economy, it will suffice to highlight two things. The first, of immediate and concrete importance for us, is bureaucrat-capitalism, and second, the development of the political economy of socialism, since in synthesis we can say that it is Mao who really established and developed the political economy of socialism. With regard to scientific socialism, it is enough to point to People's War, since it is with Chairman Mao Tse-tung that the international proletariat has attained a fully developed military theory, giving us then the military theory of our class, the proletariat, applicable everywhere. We believe that these three questions demonstrate a development of universal character. Looked at in this way what we have is a new stage — and

we call it the third one, because Marxism has two preceding stages, that of Marx and that of Lenin, which is why we speak of Marxism-Leninism. A higher stage, because with Maoism the ideology of the worldwide proletariat attains its highest development up to now, its loftiest peak, but with the understanding that Marxism is — if you'll excuse the reiteration — a dialectical unity that develops through great leaps, and that these great leaps are what give rise to stages. So for us, what exists in the world today is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and mainly Maoism. We think that to be Marxists today, to be Communists, necessarily demands that we be Marxist-Leninist-Maoists and mainly Maoists. Otherwise, we couldn't be genuine Communists.

I would like to emphasize a situation that is rarely taken into account and definitely deserves to be studied closely today. I am referring to Mao Tse-tung's development of Lenin's great thesis on imperialism. This is of great importance today, and in the historical stage that is presently unfolding. Again simply listing his contributions, we could point out the following: he discovered a law of imperialism when he said that imperialism makes trouble and fails, makes trouble again and fails again, until its final doom. He also specified a period in the process of development of imperialism, which he called "the next 50 to 100 years", years, as he said, unparalleled on Earth, during which, as we understand it, we will sweep imperialism and reaction from the face of the earth. He also pointed to something that today more than ever can't be ignored. He said that "a period of struggle against US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism has begun". In addition, we all know of his great strategic thesis that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers". This is a thesis of enormous importance and we must keep in mind that Chairman Mao applied this thesis to U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, both of which we have no reason to be afraid of. But also, we must keep in mind how he saw the development of war, following exactly what Lenin had stated about the era of wars that had opened up in the world. The Chairman has taught us that a country, a nation, a people, no matter how small, can defeat the most powerful exploiter and dominator on Earth if they dare to take up arms. Moreover, he has taught us how to understand the process of war and how never to fall for nuclear blackmail. I believe that these are some questions that we must keep in mind in order to understand how Chairman Mao Tse-tung developed Lenin's great thesis on imperialism. And why do I insist on this? Because we understand that just as Lenin's contributions are based on the great work of Marx, Chairman Mao Tse-tung's developments are based on the great work of Marx and Lenin

on Marxism-Leninism. We would never be able to understand Maoism, without understanding Marxism-Leninism.

We believe that these things are of great importance today, and for us it has been decisive to understand Maoism in theory and practice as a third, new, and higher stage.

THE DAILY: Chairman Gonzalo, do you believe that if José Carlos Mariátegui were alive he would uphold the theories and contributions of Chairman Mao?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: In synthesis, Mariátegui was a Marxist-Leninist. Beyond that, in Mariátegui, the founder of the Party, we find theses similar to those that Chairman Mao has made universal. Thus, as I see it, today Mariátegui would be a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist. This is not speculation, it is simply the product of understanding the life and work of José Carlos Mariátegui.

THE DAILY: Moving on to another question, what is the ideology of the proletariat and what role does it play in the social processes of the world today? What do the classics, Marx, Lenin and Mao, mean to the CPP?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Today, tomorrow, and in these stormy decades in which we live, we can see the enormous and overriding importance that proletarian ideology has. First, although I'm emphasizing something that is well known, it is the theory and practice of the final class in history. The ideology of the proletariat is the product of the struggle of the international proletariat. It also comprehends the study and understanding of the whole historical process of class struggle that went on before the proletariat, of the struggle of the peasantry in particular, the great heroic struggles they have waged — it represents the highest level of study and understanding that science has produced. In sum, the ideology of the proletariat, the great creation of Marx, is the highest world outlook that has ever been or ever will be seen on Earth. It is the world outlook, the scientific ideology that for the first time provided mankind, our class mainly, and the people, with a theoretical and practical instrument for transforming the world. And we have seen how everything that he predicted has come about. Marxism has been developing, it has become Marxism-Leninism, and today Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. And we see how this ideology is the only one capable of transforming the world, making revolution, and leading us to the inevitable goal of Communism. It is of enormous importance.

I would like to emphasize something: it is ideology, but it is scientific. Nevertheless, we must understand very well that we cannot make any concessions to the stand of the bourgeoisie which wants to reduce the ideology of the proletariat to a simple method. To do so is to debase it and deny it. Please

excuse my insistence, but as Chairman Mao said, “it isn’t enough to say it once, but a hundred times, it isn’t enough to say it to a few, but to many”. Basing myself on this I say that the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and today mainly Maoism, is the only all-powerful ideology because it is true, and historical facts are showing that. It is the product aside from what has already been said, of the extraordinary work of extraordinary historical figures like Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, to point out the most outstanding. But among them we give special emphasis to three: Marx, Lenin, and Chairman Mao Tse-tung as the three banners that are embodied, once again, in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and mainly Maoism. And what, precisely, is our task today? It is to raise up the banner of our ideology, defend, and apply it, and to struggle energetically so that it will lead and guide the world revolution. Without proletarian ideology, there is no revolution. Without proletarian ideology, there is no hope for our class and the people. Without proletarian ideology, there is no Communism.

THE DAILY: Speaking of ideology, why Gonzalo Thought?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Marxism has always taught us that the problem lies in the application of universal truth. Chairman Mao Tse-tung was extremely insistent on this point, that if Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is not applied to concrete reality, it is not possible to lead a revolution, not possible to transform the old order, destroy it, or create a new one. It is the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the Peruvian Revolution that has produced Gonzalo Thought. Gonzalo Thought has been forged in the class struggle of our people, mainly the proletariat, in the incessant struggles of the peasantry, and in the larger framework of the world revolution, in the midst of these earth-shaking battles, applying as faithfully as possible the universal truths to the concrete conditions of our country. Previously we called it the Guiding Thought. And if today the Party, through its Congress, has sanctioned the term Gonzalo Thought, it’s because a leap has been made in the Guiding Thought through the development of the People’s War. In sum, Gonzalo Thought is none other than the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to our concrete reality. This means that it is the main specifically for our Party, for the People’s War and for the revolution in our country, and I want to emphasize that. But for us, looking at our ideology in universal terms, I emphasize once again, it is Maoism that is main.

THE DAILY: What role is revisionism playing, and how does the CPP struggle against it?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: First, we should remember that every advance of Marxism has been made amidst fierce struggle. And in this process of development of Marxism, old-style revisionism emerged and met its downfall in the 1st World War. But since then, we communists have confronted a new revisionism, modern revisionism, that began to develop with Khrushchev and his lackeys, and which is now unleashing a new offensive against Marxism. Its main centers are the Soviet Union and China.

Revisionism arose as a complete negation of Marxism. Modern revisionism, likewise, is always aiming to substitute bourgeois philosophy for Marxist philosophy, going against political economy, particularly denying the growing impoverishment and the inevitability of the downfall of imperialism. Revisionism strives to falsify and twist scientific socialism in order to oppose the class struggle and revolution, peddling parliamentary cretinism and pacifism. All these positions have been expounded by the revisionists, who have aimed for and continue to aim for the restoration of capitalism, the undermining and blocking of the world revolution, and to denigrate the conquering spirit of our class. But here I feel it is necessary to spell out some points to make this concrete: revisionism behaves like any imperialism. For example, the Soviet Union, Soviet social-imperialism, preaches and practices parliamentary cretinism. It mounts and conducts armed actions for the purpose of gaining world hegemony. It carries out aggression, pits one people against another, sets masses against masses, and divides our class and the people. In a thousand and one ways Soviet revisionism fights against everything that is truly Marxist and everything that serves the revolution. We are an example of how they do this. The social-imperialists of the USSR have developed a perverse worldwide plan to become a hegemonic superpower using all the means at their disposal. This includes setting up phony Parties, Communist in name only, “bourgeois workers’ Parties” to use Engels’ words. And this is how Chinese revisionism and all revisionists act, differing only with regard to their particular circumstances, according to who pulls their strings.

Therefore, for us, the task is to fight revisionism and fight it relentlessly. We must keep in mind the lesson that we can’t fight imperialism without combating revisionism. And our Congress has declared that we must wage a relentless and uncompromising struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction worldwide.

How should we carry out this struggle? In all spheres: the ideological, the economic, and the political — we must fight them in each one of these classic spheres. For if we should fail to carry out the struggle against revisionism,

we wouldn't be Communists. A Communist has the obligation to combat revisionism, untiringly, and implacably.

And we have fought against revisionism. We've fought against it since it first came on the scene. We were fortunate in this country to have been able to contribute by expelling them from the Party in 1964, a fact they always try to hide. I want to make it very clear that the vast majority of the Communist Party united behind the banner of struggle against revisionism which Mao Tse-tung had unfurled, and they took aim at and struck blows against revisionism in the ranks of the Communist Party of that time until they expelled Del Prado and his gang. From that time up to the present we've continued fighting revisionism, not only here, but beyond our borders as well. We oppose it internationally, we oppose the Soviet social-imperialism of Gorbachev, the Chinese revisionism of the perverse Teng Hsiao-ping, the Albanian revisionism of Ramiz Alia, follower of the revisionist Hoxha, just as we oppose all revisionists, whether they follow the line of the social-imperialists, the Chinese or Albanian revisionists, or anyone else.

THE DAILY: Chairman, who is the main exponent of revisionism in Peru itself?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The so-called Peruvian Communist Party, the one that publishes, or published, "Unity", the fifth column of Soviet revisionism, headed by the crusty revisionist Jorge Del Prado, who some consider to be a "time-honored revolutionary". Secondly there is Red Fatherland, an agent of Chinese revisionism whose party hacks worship Teng.

THE DAILY: Do you think that the influence of revisionism among the Peruvian masses creates an adverse situation for the revolution?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: If we keep in mind what Lenin taught us and what Chairman Mao in turn emphasized and continued to develop, we see that revisionism is an agent of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the proletariat, and so it provokes splits. It divides the Communist movement and Communist Parties, it divides the trade union movement, and it breaks up and divides the people's movement.

Revisionism obviously is a cancer, a cancer that has to be ruthlessly eliminated. Otherwise we won't be able to advance the revolution. Remembering what Lenin said, in a concise way, we must forge ahead on two questions, the question of revolutionary violence, and the relentless struggle against opportunism, against revisionism.

I believe that in our country, in considering the situation of the masses, we must see not only this question, but what Engels called the "colossal pile of

rubbish”. He taught us that when a movement lasts for decades, like the movement of the proletariat, and even more so the movement of the people, in our country, a great deal of rubbish piles up that needs to be swept away bit by bit. Our view is that this is something that has to be considered as well.

How much can it influence the masses? Among the masses, what revisionism does is serve the cause of capitulation to internal reaction, concretely to the big bourgeoisie and the landlords, to the landlord-bureaucratic capitalist dictatorship which is the Peruvian State of today. Internationally, it capitulates to imperialism and serves social-imperialist hegemony or the desires for the same among certain powers evolving in that direction, like China. We believe that as the revolution and the People’s War develop, as the class struggle sharpens, the people and the proletariat heighten their understanding more and more. And at the same time, as they are forced to witness the betrayal of the revisionists and opportunists of all kinds on a daily basis, and as they see even more of this in the future, the proletariat and the people will have to carry out their mission of sweeping the revisionists out of all the corners as best they can. Unfortunately, as Engels has taught us, they can’t be eliminated all at once, as they are part of the “colossal pile of rubbish”.

THE DAILY: Do you believe that revisionism is being decisively defeated in this country?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: To reiterate what the founders of Marxism have taught, to the extent that revisionism acts in concert with the reactionary State, the masses will come to understand its despicable role. As they see its actions, to the extent the people as a whole and the class see how they act, it’s inevitable that they will more and more come to understand the pernicious role of the revisionists, as traffickers, sellouts of the workers, opportunists and traitors. The revisionists are heading for their demise and have been for some time now, not only because of the People’s War, but rather this process began when revisionism was expelled from the ranks of the Party, because at that point another batch of serious Communists began to come forward, and later became those who today, under the guidance of the Communist Party of Peru, are leading the People’s War. And we think that the masses, with the class instincts of which Mariátegui spoke, will increasingly come to understand this, as they have already begun to do.

Revisionism has already lost out, it’s only a matter of time. The problem is already defined, the rubbish has begun to be swept away, burned away; as I said, it’s only a matter of time. The process of their demise began years ago. And if we go back further, to the beginnings, the ball game was lost when they

became revisionists, when they abandoned their principles — at that point. What remained to be seen was how the class struggle would develop, and how a Party like ours would be capable of carrying out its role, and how the masses would sustain it, support it and carry it forward, how they would come to see that it is their Party, that it defends their interests. And it is the masses themselves who will settle accounts, giving a just punishment to those who for decades have sold out and who continue to sell out the proletariat's basic interests, and they will also condemn and sanction those traitors who try to do so or begin to do so.

THE DAILY: What is your opinion of the New Evangelism put forward by the Pope?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Marx taught us that “religion is the opiate of the people”. This is a Marxist thesis which is completely valid today, and in the future. Marx also held that religion is a social phenomenon that is the product of exploitation and it will be eliminated as exploitation is swept away and a new society emerges. These are principles that we can't ignore, and that we must always keep in mind. Related to the previous point, it must be remembered that the people are religious, something which never has and never will prevent them from struggling for their basic class interests, and in this way serving the revolution, and in particular the People's War. I want to make it absolutely clear that we respect this religiousness as a question of freedom of religious beliefs, as recognized by the programme which was approved by our Congress.

So the question you asked really has to do, in our view, with the ecclesiastic hierarchy, with the Papacy, that old theocracy that had succeeded in developing as a powerful instrument in Roman times. Later, adapting itself to the conditions of feudalism, it gained a vast power, even greater than before. But it always tried to rein in the struggle of the people, and defended the interests of the oppressors and exploiters, acting as an ideological shield for the reactionaries, changing and adapting itself as new situations emerged.

We can see this clearly if we think about the relation between the Church and the bourgeois revolution, the old bourgeois revolution, I'm referring to the French Revolution, for example. The Church fiercely defended feudalism, and later, through a lot of struggle and after the defeat of feudalism — let me repeat, through great struggle it adapted itself to the bourgeois order and became once again an instrument at the service of the new exploiters and oppressors. In the present situation, what we see is a historical process which is unstoppable. The era of the Proletarian World Revolution, the new era begun

in 1917, presents the problem for the proletariat of how to lead revolutions to change the old decadent order and create a genuinely new society, communism. In the face of this, how has the Church responded? As in previous times, it seeks to survive, and this is the basis of the 2nd Vatican Council, where the Church sought to develop conditions that would permit it, first, to defend the old order as it has always done, and then, adjust and adapt itself in order to serve new exploiters, to continue to survive. This is what it seeks, this is the essence of the 2nd Vatican Council.

The question of the “new evangelism” refers explicitly to how ecclesiastical authority, the Pope in particular, sees the role of Latin America, where, as they themselves say and the current Pope said in 1984, half the world’s Catholics live. They are, consequently, trying to use the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America to push forward a so-called movement of “new evangelism”. In sum, this is what they hope for: since evangelism officially began in 1494 following the discovery of America, with this new centennial they want to develop a “new evangelism” in defense of their bastion, this half of the “parish”, half of the bastion that sustains them in power. This is their goal. In this way, the hierarchy and the Papacy aim to defend their position in America and serve US imperialism, the dominant imperialist power in Latin America.

But we have to understand this plan in the context of a campaign and a worldwide plan, linked to its relations with the Soviet Union on the occasion of the millennium of its Christianization, the ties with Chinese revisionism, the actions of the Church in Poland, the Ukraine, etc. It is a worldwide plan and the “new evangelism” operates within it. As always they are attempting to defend the existing social order, to be its ideological shield, because the ideology of reaction, of imperialism, has become decrepit. In the future they will again seek to adapt in order to survive. But the prospects will be different, not like things were before. Marx’s law will assert itself: religion will wither away as exploitation and oppression are destroyed and eliminated. And since the Papacy serves the exploiting classes and what will follow is not an exploiting class, the Papacy will not be able to survive, and religion itself will wither away. In the meantime the freedom of religious belief has to be recognized until mankind advancing through new objective conditions, comes to possess a clear, scientific and world-transforming consciousness. We must therefore, analyze the “new evangelism” in the context of this plan of the Church to survive under new conditions, a transformation that they know must come.

THE DAILY: Chairman, according to what you’ve said, could we conclude, or would you say that the frequent visits of the Pope to our country

have some relation to the People's War and the support the Pope is giving to the García Pérez regime?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: I believe that is right, that's the way it is. In general, his visits to Latin America have to do with the importance of Latin America. And his visits to Peru have to do with how he called on us to lay down our arms while blessing the weapons of genocide as he did various times during his two visits to Peru.

THE DAILY: Now, Chairman, what will be the attitude of the CPP towards the religious theocracy when this Party assumes State Power?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Marxism has taught us to separate Church and State, this is the first thing we will do. Secondly, I want to repeat, we respect the freedom of religious belief of the people — applying fully the principle of freedom to believe, as well as not to believe, to be an atheist. That is how we will handle it.

2. ON THE PARTY

THE DAILY: And moving to another subject of great importance in this interview, the Party. What are the most important lessons to be drawn from the CPP's development?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: On the development of the Party and its lessons, we can understand its history by dividing it into three parts which correspond to the three periods of contemporary Peruvian society. The first period, the first part, is the constitution of the Party, in which we were fortunate to have José Carlos Mariátegui, a thoroughgoing Marxist-Leninist. But, inevitably, Mariátegui was opposed, negated, his line was abandoned and the Constitutional Congress that he left as a pending task was never held. The so-called Constitutional Congress that was held approved, as we know, the so-called line of "national unity", which was totally opposed to Mariátegui's theories. In this way the Party fell headlong into opportunism, suffering from the influence of Browderism, which Del Prado was linked up with, and later, modern revisionism. This whole process takes us to the second period, that of the reconstitution of the Party. This is, in sum, a struggle against revisionism. It is a period that we can clearly see beginning to unfold with a certain intensity in the beginning of the '60s. This process leads the members of the Party to unite against the revisionist leadership and, as I have said before, to expel them in the 4th Conference of January 1964. The process of reconstitution continues to unfold in

the Party until 1978-1979, when it ends and a third period begins, the period of leading the People's War, which is the one we are living in now.

What lessons can we draw from this? The first lesson is the importance of the basis of Party unity, and its relation to the two-line struggle. Without this basis and its three elements, there would be no basis for building the Party ideologically and politically. But without two-line struggle there would be no basis for Party unity. Without a firm and thorough two-line struggle in the Party, there is no way to firmly grasp the ideology, nor establish the Programme, nor the General Political Line, much less defend, apply and develop them. For us the two-line struggle is fundamental, and that has to do with our view of the Party as a contradiction, in accordance with the universal law of contradiction. A second lesson is the importance of People's War. A Communist Party's central task is the seizure of Power for the proletariat and the people. Once constituted, and basing itself on the concrete conditions, the Party must strive to carry out the seizure of Power, which it can only do through People's War. The third important lesson is the need to forge leadership. Leadership is key, and it does not develop spontaneously but must be forged over a long period of intense and arduous struggle, particularly in order to provide leadership for a People's War. A fourth lesson we can sum up is the need to prepare the ground for the seizure of Power. Just as the People's War is necessary to seize Power, it is necessary to prepare the ground for the seizure of Power. What do we mean by this? We must create organizational forms superior to those of the reactionaries. We believe that these are important lessons. A final one is proletarian internationalism, always developing the struggle as part of the international proletariat, always viewing the revolution as part of the World Revolution, developing the People's War, as our Party's slogan says, in the service of the World Revolution. Why? Because in the final analysis a Communist Party has an irreplaceable final goal: Communism. And, as has been established, onto that stage all must enter, or no one will. We believe that these are the most crucial lessons that we should sum up.

THE DAILY: Chairman, what is the significance of José Carlos Mariátegui for the CPP?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: For the CPP, Mariátegui is its founder. He built the Party on a clear Marxist-Leninist basis. Consequently, he provided it with a clear ideological stand. For him, Marxism-Leninism was the Marxism of his era, of his time. He provided the Party with a General Political Line. Mariátegui, the greatest Marxist that America has produced until now, left us his greatest work, the formation of the Communist Party of Peru. We

understand very well what his loss meant for the Party, but we should be clear on the fact that he gave his very life to fulfill this great work. What we mean is that founding the Party took up his whole life. So he didn't have time to consolidate and develop the Party. Just think about it, he died less than two years after its founding. A Party needs time to consolidate, to develop, in order to carry out its historic task.

We would like to point something out. As early as 1966 we stated that Mariátegui's road must never be abandoned, and that the task was to reclaim that road and develop it further. I want to emphasize, develop it further. Why? Because on a world level Marxism had already entered a new stage that is today Maoism. In our own country, bureaucrat-capitalism, in particular, had developed right alongside of the inexhaustible struggle of the proletariat and the Peruvian people, who have never ceased to struggle. For that reason, we set out to reclaim Mariátegui's road and develop it further. We have made the contribution of rediscovering Mariátegui and his validity with regard to the general laws which are the same and only need to be applied in the new national and international context, as I've explained. This has been our contribution.

A lot could be said, but it is more worthwhile I believe to emphasize a few things. In 1975, "Retake Mariátegui And Reconstitute His Party" was published. In this brief document we showed, in opposition to many who today call themselves Mariáteguists, that Mariátegui was "guilty as charged", an avowed Marxist-Leninist as he himself correctly said. We have stated the five elements that constitute his General Political Line. We showed that theories similar to those of Chairman Mao are found in Mariátegui. Here it's enough to point to questions regarding the united front or the important question of violence. Mariátegui said, "Power is seized through violence and is defended with dictatorship", "today revolution is the bloody process through which things are born" and throughout the years of his glorious life he persistently upheld the role of revolutionary violence and class dictatorship. He also said that no matter how big a majority you might have in parliament, it could only serve to dissolve a cabinet, but never to do away with the bourgeois class. What is absolutely clear, and must be emphasized because it is key to his thought, is that Mariátegui was antirevisionist.

We have, in sum, struggled to reclaim and develop the road of Mariátegui. But allow me to say something more. It would be good to ask some of those who now call themselves Mariáteguists what they used to think of Mariátegui — they rejected him, clearly and concretely. I am referring to those of today's Unified Mariáteguist Party (PUM), yes, to those who come from the

so-called “New Left”, who proclaimed Mariátegui outdated, a thing of the past, essentially that’s all there was to their argument. But even more importantly, these and others, are they really Mariáteguists? Let’s take Barrantes Lingán. How can he be a Mariáteguist if he is the complete negation of the clear Marxist-Leninist theories that Mariátegui, in his time, firmly and decisively upheld? Mariátegui was never a parliamentarian, he proposed using elections for the purpose of propaganda and agitation. It was revisionists like Acosta who, in 1945, held that this view was outdated and that the task was to win seats in parliament. And this is what the phony Mariáteguists, out and out unrepentant parliamentary cretinists, do today.

In sum, this is how we view Mariátegui: he is the founder of the Party, his role is etched in history so that no one will ever be able to deny it and his work will not perish. But it was necessary to continue on his road, to develop it further. The only logical way to carry through on the teachings of a Marxist-Leninist founder like Mariátegui, whose thinking, I repeat, contained theories similar to Chairman Mao’s, is to be Marxist-Leninist-Maoists as we, the members of the Communist Party of Peru, are. We think the founder is himself a great example and we are extremely proud that he was the one who founded our Party.

THE DAILY: Chairman, what was José Carlos Mariátegui’s influence on the development of the class consciousness of the Peruvian workers?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Mariátegui accomplished a great deal in the midst of intense struggle, and excuse me if in answering your question I get into some other things as well. He was already a Marxist before going to Europe. This is the first thing we would like to insist on, because it is always said that he became a Marxist there. The fact that he developed there is another thing. Obviously, the European experience was extremely important to him. Mariátegui waged a very important struggle in the ideological sphere, a struggle on behalf of what he called socialism. This is the term he used, as he explained, because here the term had not been prostituted as it had been in Europe. But what he upheld and propagated was Marxism-Leninism.

He waged a political struggle of great importance in order to form the Party. And this has to do with the debate between Mariátegui and Haya de la Torre, which today is being bandied about and cynically and shamelessly distorted. The essence of this question is very clear: Mariátegui proposed the formation of a Communist Party, a Party of the proletariat, while Haya de la Torre proposed the formation of a front similar to the Kuomintang, claiming that the proletariat in Peru was too tiny and immature to be able to give rise to a

Communist Party. This was nothing but sophistry, and it is important to keep that in mind. But furthermore, the American people's Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) Party, when it was founded in Peru, was similar to Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, that is, the executioner of the Chinese Revolution who carried out the counter-revolutionary coup in 1927. This is something we should always bear in mind. Why do I emphasize this problem? Because now they are talking about an Haya-Mariáteguism, even an Haya-Leninism. Ridiculous! Mariátegui indeed was a Marxist-Leninist, Haya was never a Marxist or a Leninist. Never! He always opposed Lenin's theories. It's necessary to emphasize this because we can't let them get away with shameless distortions like these which, in the final analysis, are nothing but a mess, a hodge-podge thrown together in order to promote an alliance between the present day APRA and the United Left. This is really the bottom line. The rest, cheap hoaxes.

Well, but to answer your question. Mariátegui did all this linked to the masses, to the proletariat, to the peasantry. He was theoretically and practically involved in the formation of the General Federation of the Workers of Peru (CGTP) which is the product mainly of his work. But the CGTP that he founded in the latter part of the '20s is not the present-day CGTP, which is the complete negation of what Mariátegui had established. He also developed work with the peasantry. The peasant question was a central one for him. He saw it as the agrarian question, and essentially the Indian question as he explained so well. Likewise he worked with the intellectuals, as well as with women and the youth. Mariátegui developed his work in connection with the masses, showing them the way, establishing concrete forms of organization and acting decisively to further develop the organization of the proletariat and the people of Peru.

THE DAILY: Continuing on the same theme, why does the CPP give so much importance to the Faction that reconstituted the Party?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: This is an important subject that is not well known outside the ranks of the Party. Let's begin with this: Lenin set forward the concept of the Faction, conceiving of it as a group of like-minded persons solidly united in action around principles in their purest form, and that a Faction must openly state its political positions in order to carry out the struggle and develop the Party. It is this Leninist conception that we adopted to build the Faction in our Party. The Faction began to form in the early '60s and its formation was related to the worldwide struggle between Marxism and revisionism which was obviously reflected in our country. The Faction began to pose the problem of how to develop the revolution in Peru, and found these issues dealt with in Chairman Mao Tse-tung's works which had by then begun

to arrive in our country. What issues did we focus on? We put forward that the revolution in Peru needed a Party with a solid ideological and political foundation, that the peasantry was the main force in our society while the proletariat was the leading class, and that the road we must follow was from the countryside to the city. This is how we unfolded things. The Faction contributed to the struggle against Del Prado's revisionism and we were part of all those who united to sweep the Del Prado clique from the ranks of the Party and expel them.

The Faction continued to evolve within a framework in which there were several Factions in the Party, a Faction headed by Paredes and two others that didn't act openly, but went against the Leninist criteria for a Faction, and acted instead as a Party within a Party. I'm referring to Red Fatherland, with its so-called "Chinggang Group", and the self-proclaimed "Bolshevik Group". And then there was our Faction centered in the Ayacucho region. The Faction concentrated its efforts — the line having already been set in the 5th Conference of 1965 — on raising for consideration the question of the three instruments of the revolution. This gave rise to a poorly led internal struggle. Because it lacked sufficient cohesion, the Party exploded. Thus, first Red Fatherland left the Party, expelled for following a Right-Opportunist Line, negating Chairman Mao, negating Mariátegui, negating the existence of a revolutionary situation in Peru. Three Factions remained.

Later at the 6th Conference held in 1969, we agreed on the basis of Party unity and on the reconstitution of the Party, two issues that the Faction had raised; just as in 1967 it had raised fundamental questions in a meeting of the Expanded Political Commission of that time. Paredes and his group weren't in agreement with the reconstitution of the Party, nor with the basis of Party unity, and mounted a plan to destroy the Party since they could not control it. This was their sinister plan. A sharp struggle was waged against this right-liquidationism, leaving two Factions, ours and the self-proclaimed "Bolshevik Group" which was developing as "left"-liquidationist. They held for example that there was stability in society and therefore a revolutionary situation did not exist. They said that fascism would wipe us out, that mass work wasn't possible, that we should concentrate on training cadres through study groups, etc.

As a result of this struggle the Faction had to assume the task of reconstituting the Party by itself. Lenin said that there comes a time when it's necessary for a genuinely revolutionary Faction to rebuild the Party. This is the task that the Faction assumed. Here one might ask, why did the Faction shoulder the task of reconstituting the Party? Why didn't it found another Party as

was the fashion, and still is today? The first reason is because the Party was founded in 1928 on a clear Marxist-Leninist basis, and so it had a great deal of experience, experience drawn from both positive and negative lessons. What's more, Lenin said that when one is in a Party that is deviating, moving off course, or falling headlong into opportunism, one has the duty to strive to put it back on the right course. Not to do so is a political crime. So the importance of the Faction is that it carried out this role, contributing to the reconstitution of the Party, beginning with laying the ideological and political foundation. We based ourselves on Maoism, which at that time was called Mao Tse-tung Thought, and on the establishment of a General Political Line. The Faction has the great distinction of having reconstituted the Party, and once that was done, the instrument then existed: the "heroic fighter"; the Communist Party of a new type, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist; the organized political vanguard — and not a "political-military organization" as it is often incorrectly put, but the Party required to launch the struggle to seize Power with arms in hand through People's War.

THE DAILY: How has the Party changed through the People's War?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: First, and most important, the work leading up to the People's War helped us to come to understand Maoism as a new, third, and higher stage of Marxism. It has helped us develop the militarization of the Party and its concentric construction. Through the People's War, a People's Guerrilla Army has been forged. It was formed not long ago, in 1983.

The People's Guerrilla Army is important. It is the main form of organization corresponding to the People's War which is the main form of struggle. The People's Guerrilla Army which we have founded and which is developing vigorously, is being built based on Chairman Mao Tse-tung's theories, and on a very important thesis of Lenin's concerning the People's Militia. Lenin, concerned that the army could be usurped and used to bring about a restoration, held that a People's Militia should assume the functions of the army, police and administration. This is an important thesis and the fact that Lenin was not able to put it into practice due to historical circumstances does not make it any less important and valid. It is so important that Chairman Mao himself paid a lot of attention to the task of developing a People's Militia. So our Army has these features and it was formed by taking those experiences into account. But, at the same time, it has its own specific features. We have a structure composed of three forces: a Main Force, a Local Force and a Base Force. We have no independent militia, because it exists in the ranks of the Army itself, which was formed according to this criteria. It was the above-mentioned principles which guided us, but we also think it's correct to say that the People's Guerrilla Army

could not have been built in any other way given our concrete conditions. This Army, all the same, has been able to act in every situation and can be readjusted and reorganized as necessary in the future.

Another thing that has come out of the People's War, its main achievement, is the New Power. We see the question of the New Power as being linked to the question of the united front, basing ourselves on what Chairman Mao said in his work "On New Democracy". We've also kept in mind the long and putrid experience with frontism in Peru where they've bastardized and continue to bastardize the united front, yesterday with the so-called "National Liberation Front" and today mainly with the self-proclaimed United Left and other monstrosities in formation like the much cackled-about "Socialist Convergence". In other words, we always take into account the principles and concrete conditions of our reality. That is why we don't understand why they call us dogmatists. In the final analysis, paper will put up with whatever is written on it. This has led us to form the Revolutionary Front for the Defense of the People. Here is another point. We were the ones who formed the first Front for the Defense of the People in Ayacucho. Red Fatherland appropriated this heroic example, but deformed it in creating their "FEDIP". Even the name is wrong. If this is a front for defense of the people, why doesn't it defend the interests of the people? We build the Revolutionary Front for the Defense of the People only in the countryside, and in the form of the People's Committees it becomes the basis of Power. And those People's Committees in an area form a Support Base, and all the Support Bases together we call the New Democratic People's Republic in formation. In the cities we have established the Revolutionary Movement for the Defense of the People which also serves to wage the People's War in the city, gather forces, undermine the reactionary order and develop the city, gather forces, undermine the reactionary order and develop the unity of class forces in preparation for the future insurrection.

Other changes have to do with the forging of cadres. Obviously war forges in a different way. It steels people, permits us to imbue ourselves more deeply with our ideology, and forge iron-like cadres who dare to challenge death, to snatch the laurels of victory from the clutches of death. Another change in the Party that we could point to, but on a different plane, has to do with the World Revolution. The People's War has enabled the Party to demonstrate clearly how, by grasping Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, we can develop a People's War without being subordinate to any power, be it a superpower or any other power — how it's possible to rely on our own strength to carry forward People's War. All this has given the Party prestige on an international level that

it never had before, and this is not vanity, far from it, it's just a simple fact, and it has also allowed us to serve the development of the World Revolution as never before. In this way the Party, through the People's War, is fulfilling its role as the Communist Party of Peru.

THE DAILY: How do the workers and peasants participate in the People's Guerrilla Army?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The peasantry, especially the poor peasants, are the main participants, as fighters and commanders at different levels in the People's Guerrilla Army. The workers participate in the same ways, although the percentage of workers at this time is insufficient.

THE DAILY: Chairman, where has the New Power developed most, in the countryside or in the city?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We are developing the New Power only in the countryside. In the cities it will be developed in the final stage of the revolution. It is a question of the process of People's War. I think that when we analyze People's War we'll be able to deal with this point a little more.

THE DAILY: Chairman, moving on a bit, the documents of the Communist Party establish you as the Great Leader of the Party and the revolution. What does this imply, and how is it different from the revisionist theory of the cult of the personality?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Here we must remember how Lenin saw the relationship between the masses, classes, the Party and leaders. We believe that the revolution, the Party, our class, generate great leaders, a group of great leaders. It has been like this in every revolution. If we think, for instance, about the October Revolution, we have Lenin, Stalin, Sverdlov and a few others, a small group. Similarly, in the Chinese Revolution there's also a small group of leaders: Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and his Comrades Kang Sheng, Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao, among others. All revolutions are that way, including our own. We could not be an exception. Here it's not true that there is an exception to every rule because what we're talking about here is the operation of certain laws. All such processes have great leaders, but they also have a Great Leader who stands out above the rest or who leads the rest, in accordance with the conditions. Not all Great Leaders can be viewed in exactly the same way. Marx is Marx, Lenin is Lenin, Chairman Mao is Chairman Mao. Each is unique, and no one is going to be just like them.

In our Party, revolution and People's War, the proletariat, by a combination of historical necessity and coincidence, has brought forth a group of great leaders. In Engels' view, it is necessity that generates great leaders, and a

top Great Leader, but just who that is is determined by chance, by a set of specific conditions that come together at a particular place and time. In this way, in our case too, a Great Leadership has been generated. This was first acknowledged in the Party at the Expanded National Conference of 1979. But this question involves another basic question that can't be overlooked and needs to be emphasized: there is no Great Leadership that does not base itself on a body of Thought, no matter what its level of development may be. The reason that a certain person has come to speak as the Great Leader of the Party and the revolution, as the resolutions state, has to do with historical necessity and coincidence and, obviously, with Gonzalo Thought. None of us knows what the revolution and the Party will call on us to do, and when a specific task arises the only thing to do is assume the responsibility.

We have been acting in accordance with Lenin's view, which is correct. The cult of personality is a revisionist formulation. Lenin had warned us of the problem of negating leadership just as he emphasized the need for our class, the Party and the revolution to promote our own leaders, and more than that, top leaders, and a Great Leadership. There's a difference here that is worth emphasizing. A leader is someone who occupies a certain position, whereas a great leader and Great Leadership, as we understand it, represent the acknowledgment of Party and revolutionary authority acquired and proven in the course of arduous struggle — those who in theory and practice have shown they are capable of leading and guiding us toward victory and the attainment of the ideals of our class.

Khrushchev raised the issue of the cult of personality to oppose Comrade Stalin. But as we all know, this was a pretext for attacking the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today, Gorbachev again raises the issue of the cult of personality, as did the Chinese revisionists Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping. It is therefore a revisionist thesis that in essence takes aim against the proletarian dictatorship and the Great Leadership and great leaders of the revolutionary process in order to cut off its head. In our case it aims specifically at robbing the People's War of its leadership. We do not yet have a dictatorship of the proletariat, but we do have a New Power that is developing in accordance with the norms of New Democracy, the joint dictatorship of the workers, peasants and progressives. In our case they seek to rob this process of leadership, and the reactionaries and those who serve them know very well why they do this, because it is not easy to generate great leaders and Great Leadership. And a People's War, like the one in this country, needs great leaders and a Great Leadership, someone who represents the revolution and heads it, and a group

capable of leading it uncompromisingly. In sum, the cult of the personality is a sinister revisionist formulation which has nothing to do with our concept of revolutionary leaders, which conforms with Leninism.

THE DAILY: What significance does the convening of the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Peru have for you and your Party?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Coming back to this we would like to mention some points. We would like to reiterate that it is a landmark victory. It is the fulfillment of an obligation set forth by the founder himself. We have held the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Peru. What does this imply? We reaffirm that none of the four Congresses that took place up until 1962 — during a period in which we were developing within the existing Party — none of these was a Marxist Congress. None of them adhered strictly to the outlook of the proletariat. This Congress of ours, to underline what I have just said, was a Marxist Congress, but taking place at this moment in history it was a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Congress. And because Maoism is the third, new and higher stage, it is, in the final analysis, the main of the three. But there is also Gonzalo Thought, because the Congress was based on this Thought which has crystallized in the process of applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to our concrete conditions. For all these reasons it was a “Marxist Congress, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought Congress”.

This Congress has allowed us to make a summation of our whole process of development and to draw positive and negative lessons. This Congress has allowed us to affirm the Basis of Party Unity made up of its three elements: (1) the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, (2) the Programme, and (3) the General Political Line and at its center, the Military Line. Another achievement of the Congress is that it has laid a solid foundation for the prospective seizure of Power, I reiterate, prospective.

Being in the midst of People’s War is what has enabled us to carry out the Congress. And we say this because as far back as 1967 we proposed holding a 5th Congress, and in 1976 we proposed a Reconstituting Congress. For a number of years we made attempts, but we were not able to pull it together. Why? This speaks to what has happened in many Parties that are preparing to take up arms, to enter into armed struggle. They become entangled in big and explosive internal struggles that lead to divisions and end up short-circuiting the development of the struggle to seize Power by force of arms. This led us to postpone the Congress in 1978 and to wait until we were in the midst of People’s War to hold it. We simply reasoned that once we were at war, who would be able to oppose the People’s War? A Congress and Party with guns in hand,

waging a powerful People's War, how would anyone be able to oppose developing the People's War? At that point they wouldn't be able to do us any real harm.

The Congress has pushed forward our development in other aspects. It has made us see and understand the process of People's War more deeply, and in particular, the need to prepare for the seizure of Power. The Congress has also brought about a leap in the struggle, and this is good. It is necessary to say it clearly, although some may want to misinterpret it, but, in short, we are not bothered anymore by misinterpretations or by alien and non-revolutionary elements. The Congress clarified that with respect to the two-line struggle in the Party, revisionism is the main danger.

This deserves a little explanation. At this time there is no Right-Opportunist Line in the Party, only isolated rightist attitudes, ideas, approaches and even some isolated rightist positions. But precisely by delving into this question the Congress concluded that targeting revisionism as the main danger is the best way the Party can ward off and prevent the emergence of a Right-Opportunist Line, which would be a revisionist line.

Chairman Mao emphasized that we must always be concerned about revisionism because it is the main danger facing the World Revolution. So we also take into consideration the situation outside our ranks, since any rightist tendency in the Party, expressed in attitudes, ideas, approaches, and positions of a rightist nature, has to do with ideological processes, with the repercussions of the class struggle, and the campaigns of the reactionary State, with the actions of revisionism itself in our country, with the counterrevolutionary activities of imperialism, especially the contention between the two superpowers, and the sinister role of revisionism on a world scale. So the Party prepares us and we raise our guard. And thus by waging a firm and farsighted two-line struggle among the people — because I repeat, there is no Right-Opportunist Line — we can avoid the emergence of a revisionist line. What we've said may be misinterpreted, but it's necessary to say things plainly and teach the people. The Congress has armed us and demands that we: Look out for revisionism! And combat it relentlessly! wherever it should present itself, beginning with preventing and combating whatever form it might take within the Party itself. And in this way we will also be better armed to fight revisionism outside our ranks and on a world scale. This is one of the most important points of the Congress.

The Congress has given us great unanimity. Yes, unanimity. We adhere closely to what Lenin demanded, that a Party, in order to face complex and

difficult situations like those we face daily — and will face even more in the decisive moments that are unfolding and will unfold — has to have unanimity. We must carry out struggle in order to have a clear and defined line, a common understanding, in order to have iron-like unity and to strike powerful blows. So the Congress has also given us unanimity, but attained, I insist, through two-line struggle. This is how we do things. Why is this so? I repeat again, the Party is a contradiction and every contradiction consists of two aspects in struggle. This is the way it is and no one can escape this.

So today our Party is more united than ever, and more united because of the lofty tasks that must be undertaken with firmness and determination. On another level, the Congress obviously selected a Central Committee, and since it is the 1st Congress, we have the 1st Central Committee. The Congress has given us all these things and, finally, as we well know, since this is the highest level of a Party, what has been sanctioned there has been ratified at the highest organizational level. Today, all this makes us stronger, more united, more determined, more resolute. But there is something that is worth emphasizing again. The Congress is the offspring of the Party and of the war. Without the People's War this historic task, which had been pending for nearly 60 years since the Party's constitution in 1928, would not have been accomplished. But what is important is that the Congress strengthens the development of the People's War. It returns to the People's War a hundredfold what the People's War contributed to the realization of the Congress. The People's War is stronger now and will gain even greater force, much more than before.

For all these reasons, the Congress is for us, the members of the Communist Party of Peru, an immortal milestone of victory, and we are certain that it will be imprinted in the history of our Party forever. We expect the Congress to lead to great things in the service of the proletariat of Peru, the Peruvian people, the international proletariat, the oppressed nations, and the people of the world.

THE DAILY: Some people say that the convening of the 1st Congress of the CPP dealt a big blow to the reactionary forces because it took place under conditions of an intense People's War. What do you have to say?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: It seems to us that this is an accurate assessment and it shows that there is a class and a people in this country who understand what we are doing, what the Party is doing. For us this is an important expression of recognition which compels us to strive harder in order to be worthy of such confidence, such hope.

THE DAILY: Was it necessary to carry out a struggle to purify the Party before the Congress was held?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: No. In our case the all-out struggle took place at the 9th Plenum in 1979 in order to initiate the People's War. There we waged a fierce struggle against a Right-Opportunist Line that opposed the initiation of the People's War. It was there that expulsions and purification of the Party took place. But as is well established, such purging strengthens a Party, and so it was in our case. The proof is that we initiated the People's War and have been carrying it out for eight years. At the Congress, there wasn't this kind of struggle to purify the Party.

THE DAILY: Many people wonder where the strength and determination of the CPP cadres come from. Does it have to do with solid ideological training? What is this process like?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The strength of the Party members is based on ideological and political training. It is fortified through embracing the ideology of the proletariat, and its specific application, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought; the Programme; and the General Political Line and its central element, the Military Line. The strength of the cadres develops on this basis. One thing that we concerned ourselves with a great deal in initiating People's War was the cadres. The preparation for People's War raised the question for us of how to forge the cadres, and we imposed high demands on ourselves: to break with the old society, absolute and complete dedication to the revolution, and to give our lives. This is well expressed when one recalls the 1980 Plenum of the Central Committee and the Military School. At the end of those events all the cadres made a commitment, we all took responsibility for being the initiators of the People's War. It was a solemn promise that later everyone in the Party made.

How does this process take place? It starts with how each of the future cadres is forged in the class struggle before joining the Party. Each one participates in the class struggle, advances, and begins to work more closely with us until the time comes when that person on their own makes the big decision of asking to join the Party. The Party analyzes the person's situation, their strengths and weaknesses — because we all have them — and if worthy, accepts them into the Party. Once in the Party, systematic ideological training begins. It is in the Party that we transform ourselves into Communists. It is the Party that makes us into Communists. A characteristic of the situation in recent years is that the cadres have been forged in war. Moreover, those who join become part of a Party that is leading a war, and therefore they do so first and

foremost to develop as Communists, as fighters in the People's Guerrilla Army, or administrators, in some cases, in levels of the New State that we are organizing.

So the People's War is another element of great importance that contributes to forging the cadres. In sum, while we take ideology and politics as our starting point, it is the war itself that forges the cadres. In that fiery forge we are molded in accordance with the Party. And in this way we all advance and make a contribution. Nevertheless, there is always a contradiction between the revolutionary line that is the main in our thinking and the opposing line. Both lines exist, since no one is a hundred percent Communist. In our minds a struggle between two lines is waged, and this struggle is also key in forging the cadres, aiming always at keeping the revolutionary line main. This is what we strive for.

This is how our cadres are being forged, and the facts show the degree of revolutionary heroism that they are capable of, just like other sons and daughters of the people.

THE DAILY: Do you think that one of the highest expressions of the heroism of the CPP cadres took place in the prisons on 19th of June, 1986?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: This was a high expression of it, yes. But we believe that the highest expression of revolutionary heroism, a raging torrent of heroism, occurred when we confronted the genocide of 1983 and 1984, as we battled the armed forces that had just entered the fray. This has been the most massive genocide so far. And it brought forward, as a main and vital aspect, great examples of the people's fighting spirit. Beyond this, it was a mass expression of heroism, of devotion, of sacrificing their lives — and not only on the part of the Communists, but also the peasants, workers, intellectuals, the sons and daughters of the people. This was the greatest demonstration of mass revolutionary heroism to date, and the experience that has steeled us the most.

Then why do we honor June 19th as the "Day of Heroism"? The 19th is a day that shows our people and the world what steadfast Communists and consistent revolutionaries are capable of, because it was not only Communists who died. The majority were revolutionaries. It has emerged as a symbol because there is a specific date, while the general genocide lasted for two years and involved many scattered events. The 19th was a single event, an example whose enormous impact shook Peru and the world. For this reason we honor June 19th as the "Day of Heroism".

THE DAILY: Chairman, how does the CPP sustain the huge Party apparatus, including the People's Guerrilla Army?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: I think this deserves a detailed explanation. Concerning the Party, Chairman Mao teaches us, as did Marx, Lenin and all the great Marxists, that the Party is not a mass Party, though the Party has a mass character. It has a mass character in the sense that while being a select organization — a selection of the best, of the proven, of those, as Stalin said, who have what it takes — being numerically small in proportion to the broad masses, the Party defends the interests of the proletariat, and takes responsibility for the class interests of the proletariat in taking responsibility for its emancipation, which can only come with Communism. But since other classes that make up the people also participate in the revolution, the Party defends their interests as well, in accordance with the fact that the proletariat can only emancipate itself by emancipating all the oppressed. There is no other way it can emancipate itself.

Because of this, the Party has a mass character, but it isn't a mass Party. The mass Party, of which so much is said today, is nothing but an expression, once again, of rotten revisionist positions. Such Parties are Parties of followers, of officials, organizational machines. Our Party is a Party of fighters, of leaders, an instrument of war like the one Lenin himself would demand. I believe we can understand this more deeply if we remember how many Bolsheviks there were when the October Revolution triumphed: 80.000 in a country of 150.000.000 inhabitants.

The Party is a system of organizations and obviously has its necessities. The formation of an Army that is numerically much larger, more vast, also has its necessities. Marxism, and especially Chairman Mao, has taught us how to resolve this problem, too. The Communist Party of China, based on Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teachings, concluded that giving economic aid to Parties was corrosive, and that it was a revisionist policy, because a Party must be self-reliant. This is what we have followed: self-reliance. Self-reliance has to do with economic necessities, but mainly, as we understand it, it has to do with ideological and political orientation. With that as our starting point we can see how to deal with the economic necessities which are always present — it would be an error to say they don't exist.

Basing ourselves on these criteria we have resolved the problem and we will continue to resolve it by relying on the masses. It is the masses of our people, the proletariat, our class — because this is our class — to which we owe our existence and which we serve; our peasantry, mainly the poor peasants;

the intellectuals; the petty bourgeoisie; the advanced; the revolutionaries, those who want a radical transformation, in a word, revolution — that's who sustains the Party. It is mainly the peasantry and the proletariat who sustain it. And taking it further, the poor peasants especially are the ones who go without to give us food from their tables, who share their blanket with us, and make a little place for us in their hut. They are the ones who sustain us, support us and even give us their own blood, as does the proletariat, as do the intellectuals. This is how we are developing. This is what we base ourselves on.

This problem brings us to the following questions. Since we start from this basis it allows us to be independent, to be under no one's command. Because in the International Communist Movement it became the habit to obey commands. Khrushchev was a champion at issuing commands, as is Gorbachev today, or that sinister character Teng. Independence, because each Communist Party must decide for itself since it is responsible for its own revolution, not in order to separate it from the World Revolution, but precisely in order to serve it. This allows us to make our own decisions, to decide for ourselves. Chairman Mao said it like this: we were given a lot of advice, some good, some bad. We accepted the good and rejected the bad. But if we had accepted some erroneous principle, the responsibility would not have belonged to those who gave the advice, but to us. Why? Because we make our own decisions. That comes with independence, and it leads to self-sufficiency, to self-reliance.

Does this mean that we don't recognize proletarian internationalism? No, on the contrary, we are fervent and consistent practitioners of proletarian internationalism. And we are confident that we have the support of the international proletariat, the oppressed nations, the peoples of the world, the Parties or Organizations that remain loyal to Marxism whatever their degree of development, and we recognize that the first thing that they give us, their primary support, is their own struggle. The propaganda or celebrations that they carry out are a form of support that is creating favorable public opinion and this is an expression of proletarian internationalism. Proletarian internationalism also underlies the advice they give us and the opinions they express. But, I insist, we are the ones who must decide whether we accept these or not. If they are correct, we welcome them, obviously, because between Parties we have the obligation to help each other, especially in such difficult and complex times.

Then, to reiterate, all the struggles waged by the proletariat, the oppressed nations, the peoples of the world, the Parties and Organizations steadfast and loyal to Marxism — all that struggle is the primary concrete form of proletarian internationalist help. Nevertheless, the greatest assistance we have

is undying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the ideology of the international proletariat, which has been generated by the working class through long decades and thousands of struggles all over the world. This is the greatest assistance we receive because it is the light, without which our eyes would see nothing. But with this light our eyes can see and our hands can act. This is how we see this problem, and this is how we advance.

THE DAILY: Chairman, perhaps the answer to this question is obvious, but we would like to know your opinion of the revisionist Parties that are financed by international foundations, and the big imperialist powers and by social-imperialism.

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: They have betrayed the World Revolution, betray revolution in every country, and betray our class and the people, because to serve imperialist superpowers or powers, to serve revisionism, especially social-imperialism, to dance to their tune, to be pawns in their game of world domination is to betray the revolution.

3. THE PEOPLE'S WAR

THE DAILY: Chairman, let's talk about the People's War now. What does violence mean to you, Chairman Gonzalo?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: With regard to violence we start from the principle established by Chairman Mao Tse-tung: violence, that is the need for revolutionary violence, is a universal law with no exception. Revolutionary violence is what allows us to resolve fundamental contradictions by means of an Army, through People's War. Why do we start from Chairman Mao's thesis? Because we believe Mao reaffirmed Marxism on this question, establishing that there are no exceptions whatsoever to this law. What Marx held, that violence is the midwife of history, continues to be a totally valid and monumental contribution. Lenin expounded upon violence and spoke about Engels' panegyric praise of revolutionary violence, but it was the Chairman who told us that it was a universal law, without any exception. That's why we take his thesis as our starting point. This is an essential question of Marxism, because without revolutionary violence one class cannot replace another, an old order cannot be overthrown to create a new one — today a new order led by the proletariat through Communist Parties.

The problem of revolutionary violence is an issue that is more and more being put on the table for discussion, and therefore we Communists and

revolutionaries must reaffirm our principles. The problem of revolutionary violence is how to actually carry it out with People's War. The way we see this question is that when Chairman Mao Tse-tung established the theory of People's War and put it into practice, he provided the proletariat with its Military Line, with a military theory and practice that is universally valid and therefore applicable everywhere in accordance with the concrete conditions.

We see the problem of war this way: war has two aspects, destructive and constructive. Construction is the main aspect. Not to see it this way undermines the revolution — weakens it. On the other hand, from the moment the people take up arms to overthrow the old order, from that moment, the reaction seeks to crush, destroy and annihilate the struggle, and it uses all the means at its disposal, including genocide. We have seen this in our country; we are seeing it now, and will continue to see it even more until the outmoded Peruvian State is demolished.

As for the so-called dirty war, I would like to simply point out that they claim that the reactionary armed forces learned this dirty war from us. This accusation clearly expresses a lack of understanding of revolution, and of what a People's War is. The reaction, through its armed forces and other repressive forces, seeks to carry out their objective of sweeping us away, of eliminating us. Why? Because we want to do the same to them — sweep them away and eliminate them as a class. Mariátegui said that only by destroying, demolishing the old order could a new social order be brought into being. In the final analysis, we judge these problems in light of the basic principle of war established by Chairman Mao: the principle of annihilating the enemy's forces and preserving one's own forces. We know very well that the reaction has used, is using, and will continue to use genocide. On this we are absolutely clear. And consequently this raises the problem of the price we have to pay: in order to annihilate the enemy and to preserve, and even more to develop our own forces, we have to pay a price in war, a price in blood, the need to sacrifice a part for the triumph of the People's War.

As for terrorism, they claim we're terrorists. I would like to give the following answer so that everyone can think about it: has it or has it not been Yankee imperialism and particularly Reagan who has branded all revolutionary movements as terrorists, yes or no? This is how they attempt to discredit and isolate us in order to crush us. That is their dream. And it's not only Yankee imperialism and the other imperialist powers that combat so-called terrorism. So does social-imperialism and revisionism, and today Gorbachev himself proposes to unite with the struggle against terrorism. And it isn't by chance that at

the 8th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania, Ramiz Alia dedicated himself to combatting terrorism as well.

But it will be very useful for all of us to remember what Lenin wrote:

Long live the pioneers of the people's revolutionary army! It is no longer a plot against some detested individual, no act of vengeance or desperation, no mere 'intimidation' — no, it was a well thought-out and well prepared commencement of operations by a contingent of the revolutionary army. [...] Fortunately, the time has passed when revolution was 'made' by individual terrorists, because people were not revolutionary. The bomb has ceased to be the weapon of the solitary 'bomb thrower' and is becoming an essential weapon of the people.

Lenin taught us that the times had changed, that the bomb had become a weapon of combat for our class, for the people, that what we're talking about is no longer a conspiracy, an isolated individual act, but the actions of a Party, with a plan, with a system, with an Army. So, where is the imputed terrorism? It's pure slander.

Finally, we always have to remember that, especially in present-day war, it is precisely the reactionaries who use terrorism as one of their means of struggle, and it is, as has been proven repeatedly, one of the forms used on a daily basis by the armed forces of the Peruvian State. Considering all this, we can conclude that those whose reasoning is colored by desperation because the Earth is trembling beneath their feet wish to charge us with terrorism in order to hide the People's War. But this People's War is so earthshaking that they themselves admit that it is of national dimensions and that it has become the main problem facing the Peruvian State. What terrorism could do that? None. And moreover, they can no longer deny that a Communist Party is leading the People's War. And at this time some of them are beginning to reconsider; we shouldn't be too hasty in writing anyone off. There are those who could come forward. Others, like Del Prado, never.

THE DAILY: What are some of the particularities of the People's War in Peru, and how does it differ from other struggles in the world, in Latin America, and from the Revolutionary Movement Túpac Amaru (MRTA)?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: That's a good question. I thank you for asking it, because it gives us a chance to look at the Party's so-called "dogmatism" a bit more. There are even those who say that we incorrectly try to apply Chairman Mao in an era where he is no longer applicable. In short, they babble on so much that we feel perfectly justified asking whether they have any idea

what they are talking about. This includes the much-decorated senator who is a specialist in violence.

People's War is universally applicable, in accordance with the character of the revolution and adapted to the specific conditions of each country. Otherwise, it cannot be carried out. In our case, the particularities are very clear. It is a struggle that is waged in the countryside and in the city, as was established as far back as 1968 in the plan for the People's War. Here we have a difference, a particularity: it is waged in the countryside and the city. This, we believe, has to do with our own specific conditions. Latin America, for instance, has cities which are proportionately larger than those on other continents. It is a reality of Latin America that can't be ignored. Just look at the capital of Peru, for example, which has a high percentage of the country's population. So, for us, the city could not be left aside, and the war had to be developed there as well. But the struggle in the countryside is main, the struggle in the city a necessary complement. This is one particularity, there's another.

In the beginning of the People's War we confronted the police. That was the reality because only in December 1982 did the armed forces enter the war. This is not to say that they had not been used in a support role before then. They had, in addition to their studying the process of our development. It is a particularity because we created a Power vacuum in the countryside and we had to establish the New Power without having defeated large armed forces — because they hadn't come into the war. And when they did, when they came in, it was because we had established People's Power. That was the concrete political situation in the country. If we had applied the letter and not the spirit of Mao we would not have established the New Power and we would have been sitting, waiting for the armed forces to come in. We would have gotten bogged down. Another particularity was the structure of the Army which I've already talked about.

All these are particularities. We have already spoken to the countryside and city, to how to carry out the war, to the Army, to how the New Power arose; and the militarization of the Party itself is another particularity. These are specific things that correspond to our reality, to the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, of Chairman Mao's theory on People's War, to the conditions in our country. Does this make us different from other struggles? Yes.

Why do we differ from others? Because we carry out People's War this makes us different from other struggles in Latin America. In Cuba, People's War was not carried out, but they also had their own particularities which they have intentionally forgotten. Before, they said Cuba was an exceptional case —

Guevara said this — the fact that US imperialism didn't take part. Later they forgot this. Aside from this, there was no Communist Party there to give leadership. These are questions of Cubanism and its five characteristics: an insufficient class differentiation which demanded that saviors save the oppressed; socialist revolution or a caricature of revolution; United Front but without the national bourgeoisie; no need for Support Bases; and as noted, no need for a Party. What we are seeing in Latin America today is just the development of these same positions, only more and more at the service of social-imperialism and its contention with Yankee imperialism for world hegemony. We can see this clearly in Central America. The MRTA, from the little that we know of it, falls into the same category.

Finally, another issue that makes us different — and forgive me if I'm insistent — concerns independence, self-reliance, and making our own decisions. Because others do not have these characteristics they are used as pawns, while we are not. And one far-reaching difference: we take Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as our guide, others do not. In sum, the greatest difference, the fundamental difference, is in the point of departure; ours is the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, applied to the specific conditions of our country, and I insist here again, that this is with clear particularities which show the falsehood of the so-called dogmatism they accuse us of — which they do at the behest of their masters.

THE DAILY: Chairman, would you say then that the MRTA is playing a counter-revolutionary role in this country?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The MRTA has positions that should make one think. For example, the truce they granted to APRA until, as they said, APRA attacked the people. But we all know that the same day that García Pérez assumed the presidency, he repressed the masses in the very capital of the republic. In October 1985 there was a genocide at Lurigancho prison. Were the people being attacked or not? And how long did they wait to put an end to their truce? These are things one must ask oneself.

THE DAILY: Since you consider the Support Bases to be so important, could you tell us how they are being built? What do you think about insurrection and how are you preparing the cities?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The Support Base is the essence of People's War. Without it, People's War cannot develop. I have already talked about the specific circumstances that we confronted in the second half of 1982. We were developing the final stage of the campaign to unfold guerrilla warfare, aimed at destroying the semi-feudal relations of exploitation. We took aim

against gamonalism, which is the basis of State Power, and will be, until we sweep it away. We continued to strike blows and we dealt the police devastating and humiliating defeats. You don't have to take my word on this. Journalists from "Express", for example, have said this, and I think it's safe to say that their judgment was not colored by revolutionary sympathies. Thus having generated a Power vacuum in the countryside, the problem was posed to us, what is to be done? And we decided to create People's Committees, that is, a joint dictatorship, a New Power. We set out to make them clandestine, because the armed forces would have to enter the battle shortly, this we knew. Those People's Committees have multiplied a hundredfold. Those that are in a given locality form a Support Base, and all these Support Bases taken together constitute the New Democratic People's Republic in formation. This is how the Committees and Support Bases came into being and how the New Democratic People's Republic is being formed.

When the armed forces did come in we had to wage an arduous struggle. They fought to re-establish the old order, and we fought to counter this re-establishment in order to again set up the New Power.

An extremely bloody and absolutely merciless genocide took place. We fought fiercely. In 1984, the reaction, and in particular the armed forces, believed they had defeated us. Here I'm referring to documents that they are very familiar with, because they are theirs, in which it was even said that we were no longer a danger, but that MRTA was the danger. But what was the outcome? The People's Committees and the Support Bases multiplied, and later that led us to continue the development of Support Bases. That is what we are doing today.

As for insurrection, I believe this is an extremely important question. The developing revolutionary situation in a country like ours allowed us to initiate the People's War, having already reconstituted the Party and established a clear ideology. The actual development of the Support Bases, the development of the People's Guerrilla Army and of the People's War, are giving impetus to the further unfolding of the revolutionary situation.

Thus, keeping in mind what Chairman Mao has said, all of this is leading to what he called a high tide of struggle, or what Lenin termed a revolutionary crisis. When we reach that point the insurrection takes place. This is the theory of People's War, and this is what we are taking up, and the basis upon which we are developing. Therefore, because the process of our People's War must bring us to a high tide, we must prepare the insurrection that in synthesis comes down to the seizure of the cities. We are thinking about and preparing

for this insurrection because it is a necessity. Without it we cannot win country-wide victory.

What does the problem of the cities pose for us? We have developed our work in the cities and in the countryside for many years. This work has undergone a shift and a change with the People's War, it is true. Our situation now leads us to consider how we are going to prepare the city, or the cities, to generalize it. This has to do with developing our mass work, but within and for the People's War. We have done this, and we continue to do it. The point is that we have begun to develop it more. We think that our activity in the cities is indispensable and it must be pushed forward more and more, because that is where the proletariat is concentrated and we cannot leave it in the hands of revisionism or opportunism.

The *barriadas* are in the cities, the shantytowns with their vast masses. Since 1976 we've had guidelines for work in the cities. Take *barrios* and *barriadas* as the foundation and the proletariat as the leading force. This is our policy and we will continue to apply it, now, under conditions of People's War.

What masses do we direct our work at? This you can see. From what's already been said, it's clear that the vast masses of the *barrios* and *barriadas* are a belt of steel that is going to encircle the enemy and hold back the reactionary forces.

We have to win over the working class more and more until they and the people acknowledge our leadership. We fully understand that it will take time and repeated experience in order for our class to see, understand, and reaffirm that this is their vanguard — for the people to see that they have a center that leads them. They have that right, given how much the masses have been swindled! The proletariat, the masses of the *barriadas*, the petty bourgeoisie, the intellectuals — how many hopes frustrated! We must understand that they have the right to demand it, clearly they have it, and we have the responsibility to work to make them see, to show them, that we really are their vanguard and that they should acknowledge us as such.

We differentiate between being a vanguard and being an acknowledged vanguard. Our class has that right and no one can deny it to them. The people have that right and no one can deny it to them. That's what we think. We don't think that the proletariat and the people are going to acknowledge us overnight as their vanguard and only center, which is what we have to be in order to carry out the revolution as it must be carried out. So we have to persevere and develop different forms as an integral part of our mass work, different forms so that the masses learn from the People's War itself, so that they learn the value

of weapons, the importance of the gun. Chairman Mao says that the peasantry must learn the importance of the gun, this is a fact. So we do our work in this way. We create new forms and in this way we unfold our mass work within and for the People's War.

This is related to something else, to the Revolutionary Movement for the Defense of the People (MRDP), whose very key is the Center of Resistance. We say this very frankly. These are other organizational forms, other forms of struggle which correspond to a People's War. They cannot be the usual ones, they cannot be, they have a different character; this is the concrete reality. Consequently, we develop the Party, the People's Guerrilla Army, and the MRDP, as well as organizations created for the various areas of work.

We need to spur on the masses' fighting spirit so that the potential of the masses and our class can be realized. Let's look at something. Today we have huge price increases. Why is there no popular protest? Who is holding the masses back? Lenin said protest makes the reaction tremble; when our class marches in the streets the reaction trembles. This is what we want to apply, what Marxism-Leninism-Maoism teaches us. Our class is born and develops in struggle, and so do the people. What we need to do is synthesize the masses', the people's own experience, to help them establish their own organizational forms, forms of struggle, taking into their own hands ever more developed and expanding forms of struggle in the cities. This is the way they will be trained.

What do we think? It is clear that the center of things is in the countryside, but for the insurrection the center changes, the center goes over to the city, and that even means that, just as in the beginning we moved fighters and Communists from the cities to the countryside, later we must move them from the countryside to the city. This is the way it will be and this is how we shift our weight in preparation for the insurrection. We have to be looking for the conditions that permit the actions of the People's Guerrilla Army to converge with insurrectionary actions in the cities, in one city or in several. This is what we need.

The insurrection aims at capturing the cities in order for the People's War to win country-wide victory. But we have to try to preserve the means of production, which the reaction will want to destroy, and protect revolutionary prisoners of war or known revolutionaries, who they will want to annihilate, as well as to hunt down our enemies, to put them where they can't do any harm. This is what we've been taught about insurrection. And this is what an insurrection is. Lenin taught us how to build towards an insurrection and Chairman Mao taught us the role of insurrection in People's War. This is how we see

insurrection and how we are preparing for it. This is the road we must follow and are following.

We must be very clear on one thing. Insurrection is not a simple, spontaneous explosion. No, that would be dangerous. Nevertheless, this could happen, and that's why we must and do concern ourselves with insurrection, starting right now. We think there are those who might want to use the People's War for their own benefit. Some time ago, in a Session of the Central Committee, we analyzed the possibilities. And one of them is that the revisionists or others may provoke "insurrections", either to abort the process of development or to gain positions and serve their social-imperialist master — or whatever power directs them, since many centers could want to use us this way.

THE DAILY: Chairman, what would the Party do in those circumstances?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: In those circumstances, we would do what Lenin did: tell the masses that this is not the moment, but if the masses launch an insurrection, fight alongside them, so that together we can make an orderly retreat and so that they suffer as little as possible. And if we die with them, our blood will be merged with theirs to a greater extent. This is what Lenin taught us in the famous struggles of July 1917. Because we cannot just tell the masses they are wrong and let events make them understand. No, we can't do that. The masses are the masses, our class is our class, and if they are not heading in the right direction, and the conditions make them desperate and push them into situations, or even if there are those who push them on purpose, we have to be with them so that alongside them we can help them see the unfavorable situation, and fighting alongside them, help them retreat in the best way possible. And then they will see that we are with them through thick and thin. This is the best way for them to understand and be convinced that we are their Party. This is what we would do.

THE DAILY: Chairman, another question. When you speak of the forms of struggle in the city, what role do you ascribe to the unions?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The same one Marx ascribed to them in "Trade Unions. Their Past, Present And Future". 100 years ago, Marx said that the trade unions began as simple associations for the economic defense of the workers. That is their past. Their present is to become more organized and to develop politically. And their future is to serve the seizure of Power. This Marx has already told us. So then, what is the problem? How to combine the two struggles. The economic struggle is, as Marx said himself, a guerrilla war — the struggle that our class, the proletariat, and the people develop for wages, hours,

working conditions and other rights. When a strike is launched, it is a guerrilla war in which people not only fight around concrete economic or political questions, if it is of general interest, but also prepare for great moments to come. And this is its fundamental historic essence. So the question for us is how to relate the economic struggle to the seizure of Power. This is what we call developing our mass work within and for the People's War.

THE DAILY: Chairman, you spoke of the revolutionary crisis. Do you believe it's on the horizon in the short term?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The issue is the triumph of the People's War and this has to do, mainly, with how much more and how much better we fight. And the insurrection, as I've already said, is the knock-out punch we must prepare to deliver, and we're seriously preparing to deliver it. We have to anticipate the possibility that others may wish to use it to their advantage. But the main problem is the timing of the insurrection, determining the opportune moment.

THE DAILY: Why did the Communist Party of Peru initiate the People's War in 1980? What is the military and historical explanation for this? What social, economic and political analysis did the CPP carry out in order to launch the war?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We studied the country, particularly from the 2nd World War on, and we saw that in its process of development Peruvian society was entering a complex situation. The government's own analysis showed that critical questions would present themselves in the '80s. In Peru it can be seen that there is a crisis every 10 years in the second half of the decade and each crisis is worse than the one before. We also analyzed bureaucrat-capitalism, which makes conditions more ripe for revolution. In 1980, the government was to change hands through elections, which meant that the new government would need a year and a half to two years to fully put in place the operations of its State. So we concluded that bureaucrat-capitalism had ripened the conditions for revolution, and that the difficult decade of the '80s approached — with crisis, an elected government, etc. All this provided a very favorable conjuncture for initiating the People's War and refuted the position that armed struggle, or in our case People's War, cannot be initiated when there's a new government, events have demonstrated the incorrectness of that position. Such was our evaluation, and such was the situation as the new government took over, that is, the military, having left the government after ruling for 12 years, could not easily take up the struggle against us right away, nor

could they immediately take the helm of the State again because they were worn down and had become discredited. These were the concrete facts, the reality.

Prior to that time, we had already put forward that participation in the Constituent Assembly was incorrect, that the only thing to do was to boycott it, because to participate in the Constituent Assembly was simply to serve the restructuring of the Peruvian State and to produce a constitution like the one we have. All this was foreseeable, there was nothing that could not be foreseen in this case. Therefore, we had planned for some time to lay the basis to initiate the People's War, to make our move before the new government took office, which is what we did. We began the armed struggle on the 17th of May, the day before the elections.

We thought that under these conditions we could initiate our actions and even unfold them broadly and advance to the greatest extent possible — and that is exactly what we did. We were also thinking that in the second part of the decade there would have to be a more serious crisis than the previous one and therefore, better conditions for advancing. The initiation of the People's War was planned based on these considerations. But it's been said that we didn't think but only acted dogmatically. In what way? Some people preach about dogma while swallowing anything they're told.

For these reasons we chose that moment, and the correctness of our decision has been borne out by events. It was obvious that Belaúnde — and this is something we discussed openly — would fear a State coup and therefore would restrain the armed forces. Was that difficult to foresee? No, because of the experience he had in 1968. These things could be calculated, and we've been taught to evaluate, analyze and weigh things — that's how we've been taught. The Chairman was very exacting with regard to these problems, especially in regard to preparation. We believe that events have confirmed our analysis. For two years the armed forces could not come in. Was that the case or not? Now they are saying that they burned the intelligence information that they had. In short, the new government had problems setting up its administration and the facts have shown that. Then came the crisis. The military has entered the battle with ever larger contingents and in fighting them for a number of years we are more powerful, we continue to flourish and develop. These were the reasons for initiating the People's War in 1980, and the facts show that we were not wrong, at least not in the broad outlines, which is where one must not be wrong.

THE DAILY: Taking into account that there are two strategies in conflict in this war, could you explain the process of development of your military plans, advances and what problems you've had?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Our starting point is this: each class has its own specific form of war, and therefore its own strategy. The proletariat has developed its strategy, People's War, and it is a superior strategy. The bourgeoisie can never have a strategy superior to this. Moreover, there will never be a strategy more developed than that of the proletariat. It is a question of studying military processes in the world. Each class has always brought forth its own form of waging war, and its own strategy. And always, the superior strategy has defeated the inferior strategy, and the new class always has the superior strategy and that's what People's War is. There is evidence to prove this. There are military analysts who put it like this: Communists, when they have applied their principles, have never lost a war; they have only lost wars when they have not applied their principles.

Therefore, our starting point was that we have a superior strategy, a universally proven theory. Our problem was how to wield it to make our revolution. Therein lies the problem — and the possibility of making errors. The first thing that we established was the need to avoid a mechanical application of People's War, because Chairman Mao Tse-tung warned us that a mechanical application leads to opportunism and defeat. In 1980, which is when we decided to initiate the People's War, we decided in the Party Central Committee to pay strict attention to developing a concrete application, not a dogmatic or a mechanical one. This is how we formulated it. This was our starting point. Well, here we can point out the first problem that we had. The first problem that we had was an antagonistic struggle against a Right-Opportunist Line that opposed starting the People's War. This is the first problem that we had. We settled this question fundamentally in the 9th Plenum, and the remnants were swept away completely in the February 1980 Plenum. That was the first problem we had, and from there we had the struggle to purify the Party that we talked about before. And we had to struggle fiercely to weed out elements from the Central Committee itself. That's the way it is, but that is how we strengthened ourselves and were able to enter the process of initiating the People's War. We already had a plan for waging war in the countryside and the city.

The first plan that we proposed was the Plan to Initiate. The Political Bureau was asked to determine how to develop armed actions, and it was this body that presented the plan, based on detachments as the military form. This plan was brought to its conclusion in 1980, but it is important to note that two

weeks after initiating the armed struggle there was a meeting of the Expanded Political Bureau in order to analyze how it had gone, and it concluded that a new thing had been born, and this was the People's War, armed actions, detachments. Then we developed the Plan to Unfold. This was a longer plan, comprising two years, but it was accomplished through several Campaigns. It was at the end of this plan that the new forms of Power crystallized and the People's Committees arose.

At the end of 1982, the armed forces came in. The Central Committee had anticipated this for more than a year. It had studied the involvement of the armed forces, and concluded that it would increase until the army had substituted for the police, who would then assume a secondary role. This is how it has been, and given the situation it could not have been otherwise. We had prepared ourselves, but nevertheless, we had a second problem. The introduction of the armed forces had its consequences. They came in applying a policy of genocide from the beginning. They formed armed groups, called *mesnadas*, forcing the masses to join and putting them in front, using them as shields. This must be said clearly: here we see not only the policy of using masses against masses, an old reactionary policy already seen by Marx, but also a cowardly use of the masses, putting the masses in front of them. The armed forces have nothing to boast about — with good reason we have called them experts at defeat, and skilled at attacking the unarmed masses. These are the armed forces of Peru. Faced with this we convened a Session of the Extended Central Committee. It was a large meeting and it lasted a long time. It was one of the longest Sessions we've ever had. That's when we established the Plan to Conquer Base Areas, and the People's Guerrilla Army was created to respond to a force that was obviously of a higher level than the police. It was there that we also raised, among other things, the problem of Front-State.

Thus arose the second problem, the problem of confronting the genocide, the genocide of 1983 and 1984. It is in the Party documents. It's not necessary to go into it a lot, but we do want to stress the fact that it was a vicious and merciless genocide. They thought that with this genocide "they would wipe us off the map". How real this was is shown by the fact that, by the end of 1984, they began to circulate among their officers documents concerning our annihilation. The struggle was intense, hard, those were complex and difficult times.

In the face of reactionary military actions and the use of *mesnadas*, we responded with a devastating action: Lucanamarca. Neither they nor we have forgotten it, to be sure, because they got an answer that they didn't imagine

possible. More than 80 were annihilated, that is the truth. And we say openly that there were excesses, as was analyzed in 1983. But everything in life has two aspects. Our task was to deal a devastating blow in order to put them in check, to make them understand that it was not going to be so easy. On some occasions, like that one, it was the Central Leadership itself that planned the action and gave instructions. That's how it was. In that case, the main thing is that we dealt them a devastating blow, and we checked them and they understood that they were dealing with a different kind of people's fighters, that we weren't the same as those they had fought before. This is what they understood. The excesses are the negative aspect. Understanding war, and basing ourselves on what Lenin said, taking Clausewitz into account, in war, the masses engaged in combat can go too far and express all their hatred, the deep feelings of class hatred, repudiation and condemnation that they have — that was the root of it. This has been explained by Lenin very clearly. Excesses can be committed. The problem is to go to a certain point and not beyond it, because if you go past that point you go off course. It's like an angle; it can be opened up to a certain point and no further. If we were to give the masses a lot of restrictions, requirements and prohibitions, it would mean that deep down we didn't want the waters to overflow. And what we needed was for the waters to overflow, to let the flood rage, because we know that when a river floods its banks it causes devastation, but then it returns to its riverbed. I repeat, this was explained clearly by Lenin, and this is how we understand those excesses. But, I insist, the main point was to make them understand that we were a hard nut to crack, and that we were ready for anything, anything.

Marx taught us: one does not play at insurrection, one does not play at revolution. But when one raises the banner of insurrection, when one takes up arms, there's no taking down the banner, it must be held high and never lowered until victory. This is what he taught us, no matter how much it costs us! Marx has armed us then, as Lenin has, and, mainly Chairman Mao Tse-tung taught us about the price we have to pay — what it means to annihilate in order to preserve, what it means to hold high the banner, come what may. And we say that in this way, with this determination, we overcame the sinister, vile, cowardly and vicious genocide. And we say this because someone — he who calls himself president — makes insinuations about barbarism, without blushing, when he is an aspiring Attila the Hun playing with other people's blood.

Have we gone through difficult times? Yes. But what has reality shown us? That if we persist, keep politics in command, follow our political strategy, follow our military strategy, if we have a clear and defined plan, then we will

advance, and we are capable of facing any bloodbath. We began to prepare for the bloodbath in 1981 because it had to come. Thus we were already prepared ideologically, that is main. All this brought about an increase in our forces, they multiplied. This was the result. It turned out as the Chairman had said: the reaction is dreaming when it tries to drown the revolution in blood. They should know they are nourishing it, and this is an inexorable law. So this reaffirms for us that we have to be more and more dedicated, firm, and resolute in our principles, and always have unwavering faith in the masses.

Thus we came out of it strengthened, with a larger Army, more People's Committees and Support Bases, and a larger Party, exactly the opposite of what they had imagined. We have already talked, I believe, of the bloody dreams of the reaction. They are nothing but that, bloody dreams that, in the final analysis, end up being nightmares. But I insist: by persisting in our principles and fighting with the support of the masses, mainly the poor peasants, we've been able to confront this situation. It is here that the heroism of which I have already spoken, the heroism of the masses, has been expressed.

Subsequently, we developed a new plan, the Plan to Develop the Support Bases which we are unfolding now. What can we say about it? Looking at another aspect, I believe that we must keep a lesson in mind: all plans are approved, applied and summed up in the midst of two-line struggle. And that struggle is more intense when a new plan has to be approved. That's the reality, it's a lesson that we keep very much in mind. It has been very instructive for us and taught us a lot. That's the way it is. In the end, People's War generates an extremely high degree of unity, but amid intense struggle. Yes, because in spite of the problems, the complex and difficult situations we face, in spite of external influences, the ideological dynamic is that those who are engaged in People's War have given their lives over to the revolution. A Communist has his life dedicated to Communism although he will not see it, because really we aren't going to see it, at least I am not going to see it. But that is not the problem. Not seeing the goal for which we struggle only leads us to reflect, to take hold of the great examples that Marxism has given us. In Marx's time he knew that he would not see the triumph of the revolution, and where did that lead him? To redoubling his efforts to advance the revolution. Those are lessons we've drawn, and we've been guided by those tremendous examples. Let me insist once again, this is not to imply any comparison, it is only to fix on the pole star, to set the course, as a guide.

Well, if we think about the armed struggle and People's War, we can say that the initiation allowed us to develop the guerrilla war, because in this

period we went over from detachments to platoons, and in this way we extended guerrilla warfare. The Plan to Unfold gave us the People's Committees, the Plan to Conquer Support Bases gave us the Support Bases and a broad zone of operations. We should remember that we conceived of the highlands as the backbone for developing the war and conquering Power throughout the country. Yes, the highland of our country — and we've covered an area that goes from one border to another, from Ecuador to Bolivia and Chile. But we've also developed work in the brow of the jungle, in the mountainous areas leading down to the coast and in the cities as well. Today we can say that we have hundreds of People's Committees and numerous Support Bases. Of course there is a main one, and each Zone has its main one as well.

Finally, we could say of the plans that we've learned how to direct the war with a single strategic plan, applying the principle of centralized strategy and decentralized tactics. We direct the war by means of a single plan with different parts, through campaigns, with strategic-operative plans, tactical plans and concrete plans for each action. But the key to all this is the single strategic plan which allows us to direct the war in a unified way, and that is key in leading a People's War. I think that is what I have to say about it.

THE DAILY: Chairman, in these eight years of People's War what has the anti-subversive strategy accomplished, and what are its present problems?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: It is a question that I would prefer to answer in this way: the reactionaries themselves say they've failed and continue failing; they know this very well. To use a lawyers' saying, "When someone confesses, no more proof is needed".

THE DAILY: When do you think the conditions will exist for the People's Guerrilla Army to develop conventional war, defend territorial positions and openly confront the armed forces? Is this kind of struggle in the CPP's plans?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We've pondered those problems, discussed them and established Party policy. We dealt with this in 1981, we've also done so on other occasions. We've started from how Chairman Mao Tse-tung conceived of People's War, starting from contradictions. There are two aspects in contention. One is weak and the other is temporarily strong. There needs to transpire a period of Strategic Defensive, a second one of Strategic Stalemate, and a third one of Strategic Offensive. We are still developing within the Strategic Defensive. And in these conditions, guerrilla war continues to be our main form, a generalized guerrilla war, waged broadly, both in the countryside and

the city, with the countryside being main and the city complementary. And we are fighting in almost the entire country. This is in regard to the period we are in.

We are beginning to develop mobile warfare, as conceived of by Chairman Mao, and will develop it further in accordance with the fact that the reaction will necessarily have to wage a more developed counter-insurgency war. But even as this happens we will have to continue waging guerrilla war as main, and mobile warfare as complementary, and within that, some specific kinds of positional warfare as talked about in “On Protracted War”. We think that an intensification of the People’s War must also produce an escalation of the counter-insurgency war, and this is going to be based on genocide. Looking ahead, this is going to lead to the stage of Strategic Stalemate, with the understanding, of course, that we persist in a correct ideological and political line and therefore maintain a correct Military Line, which we have to do. So Strategic Stalemate will result from our persisting in all this, coupled with the sinister plans that they are preparing, that will lead to genocide — which they want to impose upon the Peruvian people because they feel powerless. But the people cannot follow them because the people cannot go against their own class interests. This will lead to Strategic Stalemate, let me repeat, with the understanding that we maintain the correct course in ideology, politics, in military and all related matters. It’s at that point that we’ll have to address the problem of how to develop People’s War to take the cities and prepare the part that corresponds to the Strategic Offensive. That’s all we can say for now.

THE DAILY: To strengthen the war, as you said, is it going to be necessary to strengthen the weaponry of the People’s Guerrilla Army? How do you intend to resolve this?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Yes, this is one aspect. Allow me to take a question of principle as my starting point. We are accustomed to and persist in taking our principles as our starting point. In this way, guided by our principles, we can solve our concrete problems. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has told us that the main thing is mankind. Weapons are useful. So our task is to aim especially at people, at strengthening them ideologically and politically, at building the Army ideologically and politically in this case, as well as building it militarily. This is our point of departure.

With regard to weapons, the Chairman says that the enemy has them and so the problem is to seize them from him, and this is main. Modern weapons are necessary, but their performance depends on the ideology of the man who wields them. Lenin taught us that. We can assert that we are carrying out

ambushes and the armed forces know very well how this is developing and the powerful blows they've been dealt. I'd only like to mention the one related to Cayara, the ambush of Erusco. 25 soldiers were annihilated. Only one survived and he was wounded. That is why they responded with vicious genocide. The facts are not as they've portrayed them. The truth is that they moved large forces and were not able to hunt us down. And let's be clear also that we seized their arms. They know this very well. And we didn't blow up just one car, but two, because a whole kilometer of the road was mined and they had no way to escape. What was shown on television and in the newspapers by he who calls himself president, and those who've gone to Cayara from this so-called "Commission" are, as they say "castles in the air", "drawings in the water". So it has been some time since the growing transfer of arms from them to us began. And they are obligated to bring them to us, it is their obligation to bring them to where we are. And we have to recognize that they've begun to do so. Why do we put things this way? Because we've forced them to spread out, to open different fronts, and have made them sit and wait passively. They're like an elephant stuck in the mud, and therefore easier to attack. This is something the army and the armed forces in general must seriously think about.

What I am talking about is none other than the application of what Chairman Mao Tse-tung taught us when he said that Chiang Kai-shek, by the end of the war, deserved a medal because he acted as a good quartermaster, a good arms supplier. So that has already started, and the armed forces know it very well. And the plan they are cooking up, all their scheming, the great offensive they want to carry out, is all welcomed. It will not hinder the transfer of arms, and they will fail because they will not succeed in getting the Peruvian people to go against their own interests. And they are the blackest, most rotten of reactionaries, led today by this fascist, corporatist, Aprista government headed by a vile and miserable mass murderer. History has shown that the Peruvian people do not follow fascism, and will not allow themselves to be corporativized. That has already been established and this is not just an issue in Peru today, but has been one for decades. So the enemy's weapons, which we seize from them, are our main source.

Furthermore, humble dynamite will continue playing an important role, and mines are weapons of the people. As for us, our principle is to look for the simplest weapons that everyone from among the masses can wield, because our war is a war of the masses. Otherwise, it would not be a People's War, and ours is. This leads to a second question, the manufacturing of weapons. We are striving to advance in the manufacture of arms, which the other side also knows

very well by now. Direct notice of this was given to the Presidential Palace, launched with mortars made by our own hands, by the hands of the people. They don't say so, but we know.

The other common way is to buy them, because there are three ways. The main one is to seize them from the enemy, the second one is to manufacture them, and the third one is to buy them. The last one is a problem because of the high cost of weapons, and we are carrying out the most economical People's War on Earth. It's that way because we have very few resources and those that we do have are those that the masses provide us with. To reiterate one more time, how is the problem solved? Lenin said that large quantities of arms must be seized, at whatever cost. And I have already talked about what Chairman Mao taught us. This is what we are putting into practice.

THE DAILY: Can you foresee that the triumph and advance of the revolution that you are leading will provoke a US military invasion? What would the CPP do in that case?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Although Yankee imperialism is already intervening, on this question I would concretely say the following. The United States can mobilize our neighboring countries. We should not forget, I insist, that there are even pending territorial claims and border disputes, even though they are silent on this; and we all know the role that Brazil has been assigned. They could intervene directly, with their own troops; they already have people training here.

Some time ago we decided in the Central Committee that whatever enemy comes to trample on this land, we will confront him and defeat him. In those circumstances the contradiction would change, the oppressed nation-imperialism contradiction would become main, and that would give us an even broader basis on which to unite our people.

THE DAILY: Reactionaries, revisionists and opportunists of the United Left all say that you are isolated from the masses. What can you say about that?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: I believe that from everything we are saying it can be seen that there is support from the masses. To those who say such things, to the revisionists and opportunists, we would ask: how can they explain the existence of a movement that has developed a People's War for eight years without international aid if it doesn't have the support of the masses?

THE DAILY: For eight years, the groups and Parties of the right, the revisionists, the opportunists, and all the reactionaries have said and even screamed that the CPP is a "demented", "messianic", "blood-thirsty", "Pol

Pot-ian”, “dogmatic”, “sectarian”, “narco-terrorist” organization. The PUM adds that you have trapped the peasantry in the middle, between two fires, that you are militarists. Recently, Villanueva has said you are “genocidal terrorists” and other things. What do you have to say about these charges? What’s behind them?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: To me they represent lies and the inability to understand People’s War, and I understand that, the enemies of the revolution will never be able to understand People’s War. With respect to the charge that the peasantry is caught between two fires, this is an elaborate invention because it is precisely the peasantry that makes up the vast majority of the People’s Guerrilla Army. What must be understood is that the Peruvian State, with its armed forces and repressive apparatus, wants to drown the revolution in blood. This is our understanding, and we would recommend that these gentlemen study a little about warfare in general, revolutionary war, and mainly about People’s War and Maoism. Although I doubt that they would understand it, because to do so requires a certain class position.

With regard to what Mr. Villanueva says about “genocidal terrorists”, it seems to me an obscene travesty and parody to want to apply to us a term like genocidal, which fits them like a glove. Before our country and the world it is perfectly clear who is committing genocide. It is they, it is the APRA government which is leading this reactionary State, it is the reactionary armed forces, the forces of repression — they are the vile mass murderers. Distortions will never change the facts. History has already been written, tomorrow it will be confirmed. Besides, how long will Villanueva last? What will his future be like? It would be better if he thought about that.

THE DAILY: What changes do you think have taken place in Peruvian politics, in the economic base of society and among the masses as a result of eight years of People’s War?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The first change is the development of a People’s War that is advancing irrepressibly; which means that, for the first time, the democratic revolution is really being carried out in our country. This has changed all the terms of Peruvian politics. Hence, the reaction itself, their accomplices, beginning with the revisionists and their supporters on duty, whoever they may be, have concluded that the first and main problem facing the Peruvian State is the People’s War. Thus, we are changing the world in this country. Out of this comes the most important and main thing we’ve accomplished, the emergence and development of a New Power which marches forward and will end up extending itself throughout the country.

In the economic base, under the New Power we are establishing new relations of production. A concrete example of this is how we apply the land policy, utilizing collective work, and the organization of social life according to a new reality, with a joint dictatorship where for the first time workers, peasants and progressives rule — understanding this to mean those who want to transform this country by the only means possible — People's War.

As for them, the reactionaries, without mentioning the economic drain of fighting the People's War, we are destroying bureaucrat-capitalism, and for some time we've been undermining the gamonal basis for the semi-feudal relations that sustain this whole structure, while at the same time strong blows against imperialism.

For the masses of our people, these heroic masses, mainly for the proletariat, the leading class that we will always recognize; for the first time they are taking Power and they have begun to taste the honey on their lips. They will not stop there. They will want it all, and they will get it.

THE DAILY: How do you see the present situation, and the perspectives for the People's War in Peru? What destiny awaits the Peruvian people if the revolution that you've been leading for more than eight years doesn't triumph in the short run? Do you believe that this government or another one can find a way out of this crisis? In the document "Bases for Discussion", the CPP indicated that we are entering decisive years in which APRA continues to be without a strategic plan. Could it be that we are on the threshold of the victory of the revolution, and of the seizure of State Power by the CPP?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The Peruvian people are increasingly mobilizing themselves, and the class struggle is sharpening. This is directly linked to the People's War, which is nothing but the continuation of the class struggle with arms in hand. What destiny awaits the Peruvian people? I believe that the heroic destiny of destroying the old State and the glorious destiny of beginning to build a new society will be a monumental effort. These will be times of sacrifice and difficulties, but the people will emerge victorious. In the end it should be enough to reflect on this: without the People's War, would 60.000 children under one year of age stop dying each year, as is the case in Peru today? No. Therefore, the people will continue making every effort and will go through difficulties, but each day more consciously, they will pay the necessary price, knowing that they will win.

A way out? We believe that they have no way out. Our understanding of the process of contemporary Peruvian society is that starting in 1980 bureaucrat-capitalism has entered into its destruction, and as a result the whole

system is falling apart, and they have no way out. And if we look at it, there's a serious crisis, but also the two decades have come together back to back, the decade of the '80s and the decade of the '90s, both of them critical. They have no way out at all.

In regard to the decisive years, we understand by decisive years a more powerful storm between People's War and counter-revolutionary war, and we believe, once again, that from this will emerge the stage of Strategic Stalemate.

As for time, Chairman Mao said the more and better we fight, the less time will be needed. For our part, it is our obligation to do this. We are doing it and we will do it; on the other hand, we have extraordinary objective conditions. The conditions of general crisis which the decrepit system of Peruvian society has entered into reveals to us that things can accelerate in these decisive years, and in fact these decisive years will powerfully accelerate the conditions and develop the revolutionary situation.

What are our tasks today? In sum, more People's War, more New Power, more Army, more involvement of the masses, and this is how we believe our victory will come.

THE DAILY Finally, could you lay out your position with regard to World People's War? In the case of a world war between the superpowers, what would be the results for humanity?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Could there be a world war? Yes, there could be. The conditions for this will exist as long as we do not eliminate their roots. The superpowers are obviously preparing for war and making big plans. But we believe that Communists and revolutionaries, the masses, the people, those who can no longer accept so much injustice in the world, must not focus our attention on war between the superpowers because our liberation cannot come from that — because it would be a war of plunder, for a redivision of the world. World war among the big powers is for hegemony, nothing else. What can we expect from them? Huge massacres, large-scale genocide, hundreds of thousands of deaths. But certainly the immense majority of humanity will survive. We cannot accept the sinister ideas of today that worship atomic weapons and all the sophisticated weaponry they brandish. Nor can we allow them to use them as blackmail to paralyze us. Many times in the world the reactionaries have talked about decisive and definitive weapons and the disappearance of humanity. But it has always been to restrain and stifle people, to maintain their old domination. That's why we believe that we must focus our attention, our efforts, our passion, our will, on developing People's War — because from that will certainly come the emancipation of the people and the proletariat, the

definitive and true emancipation. We think that a World People's War is the answer to an imperialist world war. We think that the task is to prepare for it, and we conceive of it as follows: those who are already waging People's War should develop it more; those who have not initiated it should start developing it; and through this process we will demolish imperialist domination, the domination of reaction. And we will wipe them off the face of the Earth.

We don't conceive of a World People's War as an action that will take place simultaneously on a certain day and at a certain hour. We conceive of it as unfolding in the future, and related to the "50 to 100 years" that Chairman Mao Tse-tung predicted. We see it as great waves of People's War, until finally all of them converge like the legions of steel of a great worldwide red army, as Lenin himself said. This is how we see it. We think this is the only road to follow. The problem, I insist, is that there is a risk of world war and it would be a huge massacre, from which could only come misery, injustice, pain and death, and more reasons to put an end to them. The only solution, therefore, is People's War, which, conceived of in waves, will lead to a World People's War and the coming together of the legions of steel of the international proletariat, of the people, who in the end will carry out our historic mission. We have the great fortune to live in these decades in which imperialism and reaction will be swept away, because what Chairman Mao foresaw will be attained. If we do not see it ourselves, others who follow us will, because the legions are increasing more and more.

What is the problem? What is the key? To place Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in command. And with Maoism mainly, take up People's War, which is universally applicable, taking into account the character of each revolution and the specific conditions of each country.

4. ON THE NATIONAL POLITICAL SITUATION

THE DAILY: Chairman, what is the CPP's analysis of the Peruvian State and where it is headed?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We have an understanding of the workings of contemporary Peruvian society, by which we mean the society which came into being in 1895. We believe that the process we are living through began then and that there have been three stages. The first stage laid the basis for the development of bureaucrat-capitalism; the second stage, which deepened the development of bureaucrat-capitalism, began after the 2nd World War,

because the first stage lasted until then. This deeper development of bureaucrat-capitalism ripened the conditions for revolution. With the beginning of the People's War in 1980, we entered the third stage, of the general crisis of bureaucrat-capitalism. The destruction of contemporary Peruvian society has begun because it has become historically outmoded. Therefore what we are witnessing is its end and the only correct course is to battle, to fight, and to struggle to bury it.

THE DAILY: Why do you consider the thesis of bureaucrat-capitalism to be fundamental?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We consider this thesis of Chairman Mao Tse-tung to be key, because without understanding it and wielding it, it is not possible to carry out a democratic revolution, much less conceive of its uninterrupted continuation into the socialist revolution. It is really very wrong for this thesis of Chairman Mao's to be disregarded. Plainly, they jumble his analysis all up by talking to us about the development of capitalism in backward countries or dependent capitalism, which leads to nothing but changing the character of the revolution. We believe that it is by taking Chairman Mao as our starting point that we are going to really understand Peruvian society and those societies that they call backward.

We understand that bureaucrat-capitalism began to emerge in Peru in 1895 through the three stages that I previously outlined. We conceive of it this way: capitalism developed on top of a semi-feudal base, and under imperialist domination. It is a capitalism born late born tied to feudalism and subordinated to imperialist domination. These are the conditions that produce what Chairman Mao Tse-tung has called bureaucrat-capitalism. So, bureaucrat-capitalism develops bound to big monopoly capital which controls the economy of the country. This capital is made up, as Chairman Mao said, of the big capital of the large landowners, the comprador bourgeoisie, and the big bankers. Thus bureaucrat-capitalism emerges, bound, I repeat, to feudalism, subordinated to imperialism, and it is monopolistic. We must keep this in mind, it is monopolistic. At a certain point in its development this capitalism is combined with State Power and uses the economic means of the State, uses the State as an economic lever and this process gives rise to another faction of the big bourgeoisie, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. This gives rise to a further development of bureaucrat-capitalism which was already monopolistic and becomes, in turn, State-owned. But this whole process gives rise to conditions which ripen the revolution. This is another important concept, politically speaking, that the Chairman laid out about bureaucrat-capitalism.

If we understand bureaucrat-capitalism, we can understand very well how Peru has semi-feudal conditions, bureaucrat-capitalism, and imperialist, mainly Yankee, domination. This is what we must understand, and what allows us to understand and lead the democratic revolution.

Now, what other importance does bureaucrat-capitalism have? The Chairman says that the democratic revolution realizes some socialist advances which, he says, were already expressing themselves, for example, in the mutual aid teams in the Support Bases of the countryside. To move from the democratic to the socialist revolution it is key, from an economic point of view, to confiscate all bureaucratic capital, which will permit the New State to control the economy, to direct it and, in this way, serve the development of the socialist revolution. We understand that this strategic concept is of great importance and, I reiterate, it is unfortunately being disregarded, and as long as it is disregarded, it will not be possible to correctly understand what a democratic revolution is under the present circumstances in which we struggle.

It is erroneous to think that bureaucrat-capitalism is the capitalism that the State develops with the economic means of production that it directly controls. This is erroneous, and it does not conform to Chairman Mao's thesis. Just think of it like this: if bureaucratic capital were only State-owned capitalism, and you confiscated this State-owned capital, in whose hands would the other, non-State-owned monopoly capital remain? In the hands of reaction, of the big bourgeoisie. This view which identifies bureaucrat-capitalism with State monopoly capitalism is a revisionist concept and in our Party it was upheld by the "left"-liquidationists. Hence, we understand this problem to be a very important one.

Furthermore, politically it allows us to differentiate very clearly between the big bourgeoisie and the national or middle bourgeoisie. And this gives us the means to understand, so that we don't pin ourselves to the tail of any faction of the big bourgeoisie, either the comprador or bureaucratic bourgeoisies, which is what revisionism and opportunism have done and continue to do in Peru. There have been decades of this perverse policy of labeling one faction of the big bourgeoisie the national bourgeoisie, hence progressive, and supporting them. Grasping bureaucrat-capitalism permitted us to more clearly understand the differentiation, I repeat, between the national bourgeoisie and the big bourgeoisie, and grasp the correct tactics to carry out, taking up again precisely what Mariátegui had established. For this reason we consider the thesis on bureaucrat-capitalism to be of utmost importance.

THE DAILY: How would you sum up your political and economic analysis of the present conjuncture and its prospects? Is this situation perhaps favorable for the CPP? What does it pose for the reaction, revisionism and opportunism?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We believe that bureaucrat-capitalism has entered into a general crisis. Moreover, we believe that this bureaucrat-capitalism was born sick, because it derived from semi-feudalism (or is tied to it) and from imperialism. Semi-feudalism is obviously outmoded, and imperialism is moribund. What kind of child could come from these two parents condemned to death by incurable disease? A sick, stunted monster that has entered its phase of destruction. We think that the crises will become sharper and sharper, that, even as some economists say, there have been more or less 30 years of crisis from which we have not emerged except for some small ripples of recovery. Or, as APRA says in its own internal documents, this is a crisis that has existed since the middle of the '70s.

We can see that each new crisis is worse than the previous one. And if we add to this the two critical decades of the '80s and '90s, back to back, the situation becomes clear. What do they themselves say? That this government will leave behind an extremely grave situation, and that those who follow, supposing that others do follow through their electoral renovation, will have to seek some way to overcome the problems left behind, and consequently, not until 1995 can they even think about any kind of development — and this is being said in a country which is already 20 years behind. Because of all this we think the prospects for them are extremely bleak. Is this favorable for the revolution, for the People's War, for the Party? Yes, it is. First and foremost for our class and the people, because all our work is for them, so that our class can rule, lead, so that the people can exercise their freedom and satisfy their centuries-old hunger. We see no prospects whatever for revisionism and reaction. We believe that they are united, they are like Siamese twins, and they will march together to the grave. This is what we think.

THE DAILY: Why do you characterize the APRA government as fascist and corporatist? What do you base this on? What is your opinion of Alan García Pérez's speech at the APRA Youth Congress in Ayacucho and the one he gave in Paíta? What is your opinion of the economic measures of the new cabinet?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Concerning the characterization of the APRA government. Without looking at its historical aspect, which has other implications that we don't need to examine today, the concrete situation that

APRA was faced with, when by agreement it was given leadership of the Peruvian State, was one full of dilemmas. There existed two tendencies within it. One was fascist and the other was demo-liberal. This is what was going on in APRA, and we understand that in this case the demo-liberal position meant the maintenance of the reactionary constitutional order established in 1920, in 1933, and in 1979. That's what we mean by the demo-liberal order.

APRA had a problem — its need for investments to be able to push forward the economy, or more exactly, to showcase some successes. This is what they have done, use up what little they had in order to present us with a showcase of successes as fragile as glass. And we are seeing the proof of this today. So there is no way you can say that APRA's plan was a good economic plan, because if it was such a good plan, why are the results so bad? It doesn't make sense. So APRA had to resort to using capital from the comprador bourgeoisie and they, obviously, demanded certain conditions. In APRA's own documents they say that by the end of 1985 the big bourgeoisie, particularly the comprador bourgeoisie, was already beginning to recover and to cash in. The year 1986 was like paradise for them. They made billions of dollars in profits, as they themselves have said, thinking that later they would reinvest. But this plan was not going to work, the economy was bound to go into crisis and fail, and therefore they could not reinvest. Since then the conflict between them has sharpened further, hence the struggles between the two factions of the big bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, APRA, with regard to the people, was confronted with the immense, unsatisfied needs of the masses. Demagogically, as always, they made promises to everybody; demagogically, because what APRA sought to do was simply try to develop, to unfold the reactionary economic process which could not be carried out without restricting the income of the people, because, where do profits come from? From surplus value. So they had a problem with the masses and they knew it, hence, their repressive, anti-people, anti-union, anti-worker policies. This could be seen from the beginning. But there were other circumstances, the People's War. Even though they did not want to, APRA had to confront the People's War, which was already a central problem.

All these conditions are the ones that determined that changes had to take place inside APRA in order to resolve their dilemma. But when did they resolve it? The dilemma got resolved with the genocide of 1986. The class struggle of the masses, the People's War mainly, and the genocidal actions pushed APRA to choose fascism and brought about the triumph of the fascist faction. We believe that it was then that it happened, and so began what

everyone now recognizes as the loss of prestige and a setback for APRA, not only in Peru, but in the whole world.

Why do we call it fascist? The fascist faction that already existed in APRA took political measures to implement corporativization, although it was already contained in the first speech by García Pérez in July 1985. What do we understand by fascist and corporativist? For us fascism is the negation of liberal-democratic principles, the negation of the bourgeois-democratic principles which were born and developed in the 18th Century in France. These principles are being abandoned by reactionaries, by the bourgeoisie world-wide. So it was that the 1st World War that made us see the crisis of the bourgeois-democratic order, that's why later fascism emerged. So, in APRA what is going on is this negation of the principles of the bourgeois-democratic order and we see daily proof of the negation of all the constitutionally established rights and liberties. We see fascism also on the ideological plane as an eclectic system without a defined philosophy. It is a philosophical position made up of fragments chosen from here and there according to what's most useful. This is clearly expressed in García Pérez. When he goes to Harare in Africa he's an African and he salutes the Africans, salutes Kenneth Kaunda. When he goes to India he salutes Gandhi, he's a Gandhian. When he goes to Mexico he hails Zapata, he's a Zapatista. When he goes to the Soviet Union, if he ever does, he'll be the champion of Perestroika. He's like that because this is the ideological and philosophical training of fascism, it does not have a defined stand, it is eclectic and it takes what is at hand.

With regard to its corporativism. We understand corporativism as the setting up of the State based on corporations, which implies the negation of parliamentarism. This is an essential point that Mariátegui gave emphasis to in "History Of The World Crisis". He said that the crisis of bourgeois democracy expresses itself clearly in the crisis of parliamentarism. Looking at the parliament here, while it is true that in the last decades it has been the executive branch that has produced the most important laws in this country, it is during this APRA government that the executive has monopolized the creation of all the fundamental laws for its own purposes. No important laws have come from the parliament. This is a fact, and everything has been aimed at giving powers to the executive so that it can do and undo as it pleases. Everything is a negation of parliamentarism.

The problem of corporativism in our country is not a recent one. Already in 1933, during the second restructuring of the Peruvian State in this century, when the Constitution was being debated, Víctor Andrés Belaúnde put

forward the corporativization of Peruvian society. Villarán, who was the chairman of the reporting committee of the Constitution, opposed it stating: how are we going to corporativize if there are no corporations? It was a way of dodging the issue. Those are precedents. Now that they are talking so much about Mr. Belaúnde, whose works have just been published, it is fitting to remember his position: in the face of liberalism — which focuses on money — and Communism — which negates the individual — what we need are corporativist systems modeled after those of medieval times. It is good to keep this in mind in order to see corporativism's affiliation and its roots, and also keep very much in mind that it is intimately linked to the positions set forth by the Papacy starting in the past century.

Velasco also tried to corporativize the country. That's why he started the formation of corporations of agricultural producers, for example. His own agrarian law 17716 had the political aim of establishing corporativist bases. The industrial law did, too. How? Through the industrial community. His famous political organization, which was never consolidated, also put forward positions which were clearly fascist and corporativist. But they didn't succeed in carrying it out in Peru. And what are they trying to do? What do they want? They want the formation of corporations, that is to organize the producers and all members of society along corporativist lines. Let's assume that the small factory producers, the agricultural producers, merchants, professionals, students, the Church, the armed forces, and the police forces all name their delegates and, in this way form a corporative system. This is what they are seeking to do and what APRA is doing. And the regions and micro-regions, what is their significance? This whole plan for establishing regions today serves the corporativization of our country, that is why we have to oppose it openly — not only because it represents political maneuvering by APRA for electoral advantage, but because it is a corporativist system, and furthermore, it is putting a country which doesn't even have a consolidated national unity at risk. These are extremely serious matters. For these reasons we say it is a fascist and corporativist government. The road they are trying to promote explains their great preoccupation with the regions that they want to impose, no matter what it takes. This is what we are seeing and hence all these extraordinary parliamentary assemblies which have failed to fulfill what García has called for. Last year he stated, either the regions are formed or I'll stop calling myself Alan García Pérez. A year has passed and I don't know what he is calling himself today, because the regions have not been formed. Now they say by the end of this year. We'll see.

With regard to identifying fascism with terror, with repression, we think that this is a mistake. What's involved is the following: if one remembers Marxism, the State is organized violence, that is the classic definition. All States use violence because they are dictatorships. How else would they assert themselves to oppress and exploit? They couldn't do it. Consequently what happens is that fascism develops a broader, more refined, more sinister violence. But to identify fascism as being the same as violence is a crass error. These are ideas that have developed here in Peru since the 2nd World War and they are ideas that Del Prado often promoted and spread. These same ideas were also put forward by Dammert.

Identifying fascism with terror means not understanding Mariátegui, who in "Figures And Aspects Of World Life", when talking of H. G. Wells, tells us that the bourgeois State goes through a process of development and that it is this process that leads to a fascist and corporative system. This can be understood very well if we study Mariátegui's works, the previously mentioned "History Of The World Crisis" and "The Contemporary Scene". Let's not forget that he lived it, studied it, and came to know it directly.

In this country, we have to look at fascism in its different aspects beginning with its ideology, its politics, and its organizational form, how it uses violence, its terror. Today we see how it practices a skillful violence, more developed, broader, more brutal and vicious. This is what is called terror. But apart from this, white terror has always been practiced, has it not? The reactionaries, when they have encountered difficulties, have always applied white terror. So we should never identify and reduce all fascism simply to terror. We must understand that fascism means a more refined violence, and the development of terrorism, yes, but that is not the totality of it but a component, it is fascism's means of unfolding reactionary violence.

As for García Pérez's speech at the APRA Youth Congress: in sum, there is an intense struggle in APRA, which has to do with their next Congress, and the problem consists in whether García Pérez will maintain his control over that Party or not, while keeping himself in power in collusion with the armed forces. For some time it's been apparent that the APRA youth have questioned the work of the government, and this expressed itself in a big way at this Congress in Ayacucho. And García Pérez had to make a desperate trip in order to explain, to explain himself and to present himself as the savior. This is what he wants, because he sees the importance of winning over the youth in the interest of his appetite to be *Führer*. I believe this gets to the essence of it. Concerning what he said about our Party, and the supposed admiration he says he has for

it, this simply reveals the struggle inside APRA, because someone who is a genocidal assassin, who daily murders the people, the fighters, the Communists, can't have admiration for us. This is demagogical posturing, uncontrollable appetites linked to the APRA Congress and related to his political prospects, because he can still play many cards. The man is quite young.

Concerning Paita, the "Paita speech", essentially it was a fascist speech, openly fascist. It was not, as some say, to give the parliamentarians who were raising a ruckus a slap on the wrist. That kind of thing is commonplace among them and there is nothing extraordinary about it. But that was not what this was about, it was a strictly fascist speech. García Pérez wants to become *Führer*. There's a reason why they call him "*conductor*". Many times Congressman Roca himself has called him "*conductor*". Isn't "*conductor*" the same as *Führer*? It means the same thing in German. Therefore I think it's correct when some call him "the *Führer's* apprentice". But in the end what he is showing us is that he's just a cheap demagogue with a big, unrestrained appetite, ready to do anything to satisfy it. I think self-idolatry is one of his characteristics.

As for the economic measures of the new cabinet, as was inevitable, no one agrees with them. Of course no one agrees with them, and the people least of all, which is what interests us. So a double contradiction emerges. The first one is with the comprador bourgeoisie, because the economic measures are insufficient. They ask the APRA government for more measures and they demand a definition of the plan, because this plan is for 18 months, but consists only of a general outline, without dealing concretely with important problems. For its five years in office, APRA is going to proceed like this, from one emergency plan to another and yet another. From emergency to emergency, which amounts to the total unraveling of the plans it had thought to implement during its term. I am referring here to their own documents. And the second contradiction is inevitably with the people, whose belts are being tightened in the interest of generating new capital. How and from where can capital be obtained? By reducing salaries. These are, in sum, the measures, and that's why they have created more problems for APRA than they already had. Meanwhile they continue, demagogically, postponing what the very order within which they operate imposes on them and what they themselves bring on by being puppets, because they have long been in collusion with the United States, with imperialism. Their ties with the World Bank and the International Development Bank are extremely clear, and these are the instruments that the imperialists are using more now due to the discrediting of the International Monetary Fund — although the prospects are that APRA will return to the fold. So those economic

measures are not resolving the situation, they are worsening it. And we are going to have an extremely grave and critical economic situation which will develop even further, becoming a tremendous burden on the backs of the masses.

THE DAILY: Chairman, how do you see the upcoming elections shaping up, and the possibility of a coup or a coup backed by the government itself?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: If you'll allow me, I'd like to say that the main thing about the elections is the need to boycott them, and if possible, prevent them. Why do we say this? What do the people have to gain? Nothing. The people won't gain anything through an electoral renewal. I think this can be seen very clearly in this country's history. In the document, "Develop The People's War, Serving The World Revolution", we pointed this out, we showed this to be the case and no one has disproved it. We showed how the percentage of votes for the United Left was what prevented the majority from expressing their opposition to the elections. I believe this has been shown. We have therefore put forward, and the facts have borne out, that the tendency in Peru is to expect nothing from elections or from a new government. The tendency is to reject elections. Where does the problem lie? In the way revisionism and opportunism continue promoting elections, that's where the problem lies. So what is the key point here? To strike blows and expose what the electoral process means, that it means nothing except allowing the renewal of the authorities of this old and rotting order, that it means nothing else. Because they won't be able tell us that it means maintaining the democratic arena. This is an old story that no one is going to believe any more. This is the story that those who today belong to the PUM told us at the time of the Constituent Assembly. And then, in 1980, they said that there was democratic space, that we were in a pre-revolutionary situation, and that by using the parliament as a tribune we could go over to a revolutionary situation — only to tell us later that we had to focus on defending the existing order. I think that this is the main thing for the people, that the majority express their repudiation of the elections, even if by simply casting a blank vote, even if it is just by doing that. This is important because that is how the will of the masses of people, the immense majority who already understand that the electoral road offers no solutions, will be expressed.

I think they have wanted to make use of the elections, putting forward the electoral campaign, in order to get the people to focus their attention on the elections. But we see that this plan has failed for two reasons. The first is the serious problems that the people have, and how their fighting spirit is growing daily, which the People's War serves to push forward. Secondly, the very

contradictions that have thrown all the existing political institutions into great turmoil. The United Left is a jumble of contradictions, so is the so-called FRE-DEMO, and APRA is a pot brimming with party hacks. That's how it really is. And if their eager plans to divert the attention of the people have failed. and if the conditions are those of a People's War with great prospects, as is really the case, all revolutionaries who want to see this country transformed must push for the people to reject this process. Let them figure out how to replace their authorities. It's their problem, not ours. That's how we see it.

About a possible State coup, well, in this country the possibility of a coup always exists. And we understand that the army itself is already alarmed, pointing out that they don't see any political force capable of confronting the People's War. If the army is saying that, then it means that a coup could occur at any moment. But it could occur in many different ways, and that's another question. It could be something similar to what happened in Uruguay with Bordaberry, which would be García Pérez in this case. It could be a self-engineered coup. That's another card that García Pérez has up his sleeve because a coup would remove him, as a victim and not as the political failure that he is. And since he's young, some time later he could come back as a martyr and defender of democracy. That's why this is another card this demagogic expert in sleight of hand might pull from the deck. And looking deeper, the armed forces really do have to more and more unfold an increasingly developed counter-revolutionary struggle that strengthens their power. That's the way it is. And we think that the movement of the contradiction is in such a direction that we will have to confront each other — the revolutionary forces, the Communist Party of Peru leading the People's War, on the one hand; and on the other hand, the reaction, the armed forces leading the counter-revolutionary war in Peru.

THE DAILY: Chairman, would you accept talks with Alan García?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The idea of talks is being bandied about, and it is also part of the superpowers' game, especially the social-imperialists. We see the situation this way: there is a time in the development of a People's War when relations and diplomatic dealings become necessary and do occur. For example, the meeting between Chairman Mao and Chiang Kai-shek. This is something people are familiar with. We also saw it in the case of Vietnam. It is a facet in the development of a revolutionary war and, even more so, of a People's War. But we must start from the understanding that in diplomatic meetings agreements signed at the table only reflect what has already been established on the battlefield, because no one is going to give up what they have not obviously lost. That is understood. Well, one could ask, has that moment

arrived in Peru? That moment has not arrived. So why raise the issue of talks? Such talks are simply aimed at halting or undermining the People's War, that's what they are aimed at and nothing more. So I repeat, the truth is that the time for meetings and diplomatic dealings has not arrived, it makes no sense.

As for the rest, I think it is a demagogic matter that they have been stirring up since the time of Belaúnde's government, when due to a proposal from someone from the United Left that was accepted, the then-president stated that there was no suitable interlocutor. Words! At bottom it was nothing but cheap demagoguery without rhyme or reason, and it's still the same today. And who talks about talks? The revisionists, the opportunists, and those who have hope for APRA, for this demo-bourgeois order, for this reactionary order. They are the ones. But are they not at the same time the ones who are promoting pacification, our destruction? Are they not the same ones who make proposals about how to pacify better, which means how to sweep us away, because such are their sinister dreams to satisfy their appetites? They are the same ones. What a coincidence! So then, these talks are a sinister betrayal. Furthermore, one could ask: how can they talk about dialogue, those who even made an amnesty pact with García Pérez, which he never honored?

So for me all this jabbering about talks is nothing, I repeat, but looking for a way to undermine the People's War, because it doesn't correspond to reality. When the time comes, the People's War will necessarily have to undertake diplomatic dealings. But our diplomacy will be aimed at seizing Power countrywide, fully and completely. We don't want a North Vietnam and a South Vietnam, we don't want a North Korea and a South Korea. We don't want a North Peru and a South Peru, we want only one Peru. This is our condition: full, complete and absolute surrender. Are they ready for that? No. What they are plotting is our destruction, and so talks are nothing but a part of that same plan despite all their demagogic and philistine cackling.

THE DAILY: What do you think of the United Left and its political line? What destiny do you foresee for this revisionist front? And what is the CPP's stand on the National People's Assembly?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Concerning this I would like to be very brief. First, because what is the line of the United Left at this time? We don't know. In earlier documents they state that the United Left is "a mass front of the socialist trend", and it has focused, as is evident, on parliamentary cretinism. What is at the heart of their positions? A very simple matter, they think they can take over the government, and then, as they say, take over Power. Well, they must understand that they cannot take over one without seizing the other.

Moreover, first you seize Power and then you set up your government, because the essential problem of State is what system of State, which means: what class does the dictatorship that you exercise correspond to? And from this is derived your system of government. The rest are cheap inventions of putrid revisionists. If you look at their statements, they are not for the destruction of the reactionary State, but for a government that would permit them to continue evolving this outmoded and rotting order. This is what they are after with their proclamations about how, with this government and reforms, they can advance toward socialism. And all this is simply the unrestrained revisionism already criticized by Lenin.

On the other hand, we should look at their political theses and their Congress. Regarding their political theses, they are yet to be published. I believe that in the United Left — which is a front — let's not forget what we see is a re-creation of the old opportunist electoral frontism that we have seen many times in Peru. Such a front is the negation of a Party that leads, and if there is no Party of the proletariat to lead, there is no transformation, no revolution. Revolution has never been made through parliament, nor will it ever be. They are giving a facelift to old arguments already discussed in the 1965. The United Left, to be concise, how do I see it? As a jumble of contradictions, of collusion and struggle. What unites them? Collusion, greed, following the road of parliamentary cretinism, reviving old failures, or using them as a card for the reaction to play, to perform a sinister role like Ebert in Germany, that vile and perverse assassin of the revolution of 1919. I believe that is what unites them. And what divides them? Their struggles, their rank and file, their appetites, and the fact that they have different masters. Therefore, they subordinate themselves to how their masters define the situation, because there are revisionists in the United Left who serve the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and revisionists who serve Teng, and they are subject to what their masters and the intermediaries of their masters say. Not to mention their ties with other centers of power.

That's the crux of the problem. There are things that should make those who really want revolution think. These are those who have the duty to think if they really are for revolution. They have to break with this useless, groveling electoral front which is an obstacle, and assuming their class position, according to the class that they defend, converge in a really revolutionary front. Let them do so, and come together for real. It is not enough to call others sectarian, you have to show that you are not, and in order to do so you must first quit being an opportunist, cease being a revisionist. And for others, they

must stop trying to take us down the dead-end road of Christian Socialism. If they want revolution, let them prove it, and express it in deeds by abandoning the erroneous road they are following. Let them stop being the tails of Soviet and Chinese revisionism; that is the first thing they would have to do, aside from, I repeat, not coming to us with positions based on the road of Christian Socialism. They should really come to understand Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism; so long as they do not understand it they will not advance. Let them understand what it means to make revolution through People's War. And let them understand and open their eyes, because the truth is irrefutable, they cannot deny what all the world except them sets. They must stop being so power hungry and must explicitly accept their class limitations and accept that it is the proletariat as a class that leads through a Communist Party, and this is what mainly interests us.

Regarding the National People's Assembly (ANP), the ANP is a peculiar thing. On the one hand they say it "is the germ of Power". Very well, "germ of Power". I ask, are they trying to form Soviets? Are they recreating the Bolivian experience at the time of Juan José Torres? Can power be created this way? To raise this supposed "germ of Power" is simply and plainly to oppose the New Power that we are actually forging in the real world. On the other hand, they also say that the ANP is a "mass front". So is it a competitor of the United Left, which is also a "mass front"? Okay, let them define what it is then. Is it a "germ of Power" or is it a "mass front"? What is it really? Let them clearly state how Power can be forged. What do we see here? Simply that the ANP is run by revisionism. There's lots of evidence. Their strikes follow the same mold and even the dates are the same as those established by the revisionists through the CGTP. Therefore revisionism is the leader here, and revolutionaries cannot follow revisionists. And those who really want revolution, I repeat, let them demonstrate it in their actions, and let them understand, first and foremost, the authentic revolutionary process of People's War that is taking place here in this country. Because as long as they don't understand it they will not be able to play the role that many of these people could very well play, people who simply have good intentions, but totally lack clarity, even though they believe the opposite is true.

THE DAILY: Chairman, how do you see the situation in regard to the class struggle of the masses? What do you think of the existing organizations?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: As to how we see the class struggle of the masses, I'd like to start from this basic point: our people are heroic, our

class, the proletariat, even more so. Since the people and the proletariat in general are persistent protagonists of the class struggle, they have never let up, nor will they ever let up, until we reach Communism. I think the first thing that we must do is recognize the greatness of our people, of our proletariat. And secondly, we must recognize and be grateful for — see clearly and say firmly — that without their support, without their sustenance, we would have done nothing! Absolutely nothing! Because the masses are the ones who make history, and we believe this fervently. Just like we believe that “it’s right to rebel”. This is another key principle of the masses.

How do we see the masses? With the deep rejoicing of a Communist, my greetings to this growing flood of arising masses who are beginning to recapture past glories, and write new pages in history. The masses have begun to participate in and will continue participating in an intense process of class struggle, and the pessimism that reigns in the United Left, as Mr. Moreno, who leads the Red Fatherland, himself recognizes, will not take hold among the masses, because the masses are not pessimists. Let’s remember that Chairman Mao said: only the revisionists and opportunists are pessimists, the proletariat and Communists are always optimists, because the future is ours — it is historically determined so long as we keep to our course. The masses will not fall into pessimism, nor have they ever done so. That is absurd, it is a slander. The masses fight, but in order to fight they need leadership, a Party, because there is no mass movement that can unfold and sustain itself, much less develop itself, without a Party to lead it.

We are filled with revolutionary joy when we see how these masses are fighting and, as their own actions show, learning from those masses already involved in the People’s War. And how the masses begin to put into practice the great slogan, “Combat and Resist!”. This is not a time to just receive, we must be gracious and give in return, and do so doubly, so as to be doubly gracious. And I think that the masses are doing that, giving really outstanding examples that make us see the brilliant future, the future the masses themselves will see. Because they are the ones who make revolution, the Party only leads them. I think this is a principle that we all know, but it’s useful to repeat it.

In regard to your question about the organizations, we believe that today more than ever we have to seriously study what Lenin taught us in his work, “The Collapse of The 2nd International”, Chapter 8. He says that the State of the exploiters, the bourgeois State, the reactionary State, allows the existence of organizations that sustain and serve it so that it can maintain itself and survive. And what do these organizations do, in order to maintain

themselves? They sell out the revolution for a plate of lentils. I believe this saying fits them like a glove. But Lenin tells us more, that the revolution can expect nothing from these organizations. The revolution has to create its own organizations in times of war and revolution like the ones we are living in now and will live in from now on. And in the future, the revolution will triumph. So Lenin tells us that we have to create new organizations that serve the revolution, even though we have to go over the heads of those who sell out the workers, of the traitors to the revolution. I believe that those are Lenin's words, they deserve immense respect from us, and should move us to profound and serious reflection. Otherwise we would not be serving our class, or the people. And we have to emphasize the urgent necessity to help everyone acquire more and more class consciousness so that they live as what they are, as the working class or as the people, with interests that are opposed to and antagonistic to the exploiters. And they should feel clearly the power that they have when their strikes stop production. And let them understand and feel and carry forward a strike as a school of warfare, as a school of Communism, and continue unfolding their strikes as the main form of struggle in the economic sphere, because that is what they are. But under the present circumstances, these struggles must be inseparably linked to the conquest of Power. So let's unite the struggle for economic demands with the struggle for the seizure of Power — with the People's War. Because it is in the defense of their class interests, of the interests of the proletariat, of the people. That is what we need and that is what we believe the masses are pushing forward evermore.

In our Party, we came to the conclusion a long time ago on what we call the law of the masses, the law of incorporation of the masses into the war and into the revolution, like the one we are unfolding. And this is what applies here. The masses are joining the struggle in surges, bigger and bigger surges. This is the course that we are following and we will unite 90% of the Peruvian people. What for? So that the masses bring about the victory of the revolution and the culmination of the work that they initiated eight years ago, and have been carrying forward with their own blood. Because the revolution is theirs, it has arisen from them, from their depths. They, the masses, make history, I repeat, the Party only leads them. I believe this is true.

THE DAILY: Chairman, in what political and social sectors does the CPP seek its allies? Do you have any affinity with political groups in the country? The opportunists claim that you are sectarian. How do you determine your United Front policy? What is the strength of the Party in the countryside, in the workers' movement, among the people as a whole?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: If you will allow me, I will start from how we see the Front. We have already explained how we are carrying it forward, but what we need to state clearly here is how we conceive of the United Front which Chairman Mao spoke of. While I'm on the subject, let me say that it was Mao who established the laws of the front, the six laws of the Front. There were no such laws before him. In accordance with these criteria of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, our goal is a Front of classes, with the proletariat as the leading class, the peasantry as the main force, the petty-bourgeoisie as an ally which we must pay attention to, and in particular the intellectuals, because they are necessary to the revolution, as Chairman Mao also taught us. And in this Front, under certain circumstances and conditions, even the national bourgeoisie can and does participate. This is what we understand by the United Front. This front has a foundation, which is the worker-peasant alliance, forged in the countryside. We are forging it today, and have been for eight years with arms in hand. Why is the worker-peasant alliance necessary? Because without it the proletariat would not have hegemony, and this Front requires a Communist Party to lead it. This is our position. We are absolutely opposed to the revisionist theory being applied in Central America, and that they want to spread elsewhere, that "everyone is revolutionary", "everyone is Marxist", "there's no need for the leadership of a Communist Party", "it's enough to simply unite everyone and base oneself on a Front in order to lead a revolution". That is the negation of Marxism. It is the negation of Marx, of Lenin, and of Chairman Mao. No Marxist has disregarded the need for the leadership of a Party. Without it, how can the hegemony of the proletariat be concretized? Only through a really genuine Communist Party, that is, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party that firmly and consistently serves the interests of the class and defends the interests of the people. This is how we see it and this is what we are forging and developing. For us the issue of the Front has to do with the aforementioned thesis, that the Party is the selection of the best elements, and is the necessary leadership, but it does not make the revolution, because it is the masses who make it. Therefore, there is the need for a front to bring together 90% of the population, the immense majority. This is what we are seeking, what we are pursuing, and what we are doing.

As far as groups, we've had, at different times, links with organizations. And when we've had them, we have treated those organizations as they should be treated, as equals, and we have exchanged experiences. In some cases they have asked that the Party help them politically, and we have done so. There are various cases like that, but it is better not to mention names now.

About whether we are sectarian, please let me read what is in the document, “Develop The People’s War, Serving The World Revolution”. These are the words of our founder, and we use precisely these words because those who claim to be Mariáteguists must truly be just that. But you cannot be a follower of Mariátegui without being a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist. Mariátegui said:

We are living in a period of total ideological war. Those who represent force for renewal cannot, either by accident or chance, unite or merge themselves with those who represent conservatism or regression. There is a historical abyss between them. They speak different languages and have a different understanding of history.

I think we should unite the like-minded, and not those who differ. We should bring together those whom history wants together. There should be solidarity between those of whom history requires solidarity. This, it seems to me, is the only possible alliance. A common understanding with a precise and effective sense of history.

I am a revolutionary. But I believe that men who think clearly and definitively will be able to understand and appreciate each other, even while struggling against each other. The political force with whom I will never reach an understanding is the other camp: mediocre reformism, domesticated reformism, hypocritical democracy.

We adhere to this. We are not sectarian, nor are there any actions on our part that indicate that. What no one can demand of us is that we march into the swamp. Lenin taught us: if someone decides they want to head into the swamp, they have the right to do so, but not to call upon us to go into the muck with them. Lenin said, we must follow our steep and difficult road all the way to the summit, or, in other words, we must face the enemy’s fire, but we will continue to advance. We are not, then, sectarians or dogmatists. We are simply Communists, and we adhere to those wise words of Mariátegui. And what’s more, we demand that those who claim to follow Mariátegui really follow him, and that they prove it.

As to the strength of the Party in the countryside, what I can say concretely is that the majority of our members are peasants, the vast majority. And a limitation that we have is the insufficient number of workers. This is a serious limitation, but we are making, and will continue to make, more efforts to correct it, because we need proletarian Communists. The workers offer forging, their steel-like quality, because this characterizes them as a class.

Moreover, we know how our strength and influence is growing among the people as a whole. We can say that the People's Guerrilla Army is made up of masses, of peasants, of workers, intellectuals, people from the petty-bourgeoisie — we are talking about thousands of people. We have hundreds of People's Committees organized in Support Bases. And we exercise Power over tens of thousands of people. This is our reality. The influence of the Party is growing. We are gaining more and more influence among the masses. We are applying what Marxism espouses, teaching the proletariat, the people, the masses, by means of powerful actions that drive home the point. We believe that our growth among the masses has begun to make a big leap. This is what we can say to you. We want, and it is our task and part of our plan, to make a big leap in our work among the masses. The masses in this country need the leadership of the Communist Party. We hope that with more revolutionary theory and practice, with more armed actions, with more People's War, with more Power, we can reach the very heart of our class and the people and really win them over. What for? To serve them. That is what we want.

THE DAILY: Chairman, other organizations either don't define or talk vaguely about socialist revolution in Peru. Why does the CPP say that the Peruvian Revolution has stages? What is the democratic revolution? What will the socialist revolution be like, and what will the proletarian cultural revolutions that the CPP will lead after the defeat of the counter-revolutionary forces be like? Will they be like the ones Chairman Mao led in China?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Defining the character of a revolution is a key question. For us, in keeping with what was established in our own Party Congress, the revolution is a democratic one. Adhering to Maoism, we have been able to develop a more complete understanding of the situation in our country. We think that Peru is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society in which bureaucrat-capitalism has developed. Therefore, the revolution is a democratic one. We think that the democratic revolution must confront three mountains: imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism, and semi-feudalism. This democratic revolution demands that we undertake a People's War. That is why we have insisted on this course. This People's War is what will allow us to destroy these three mountains and seize country-wide Power, in our opinion, in the not too distant future. That depends, in the end, on the increased effort that all of us who fight in the People's War exert, and on the masses rallying more and more to the People's War. This democratic revolution must be followed immediately by a socialist revolution. I want to spell this out. Basing ourselves on what Chairman Mao taught us with great farsightedness,

thinking of the situations that might arise, he tells us that the democratic revolution ends the very day that Power is seized country-wide and the People's Republic is founded. That very day and hour, the socialist revolution begins. And in the socialist revolution we have to unfold a proletarian dictatorship and thus carry forward fundamental transformations in order to develop socialism.

We think that there is a third kind of revolution. By studying Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the resolutions of the Communist Party of China, we are increasingly understanding the importance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is indispensable — without it the revolution cannot continue its march towards Communism. We believe there will be successive cultural revolutions, but we think that those cultural revolutions will have to be forged in practice. While we should base ourselves on the Chairman's thesis and the monumental experience of the Communist Party of China, we have to apply them to our own reality — in this we are also anti-dogmatic. We cannot be mechanical, that would be going against Maoism. We think that as a Communist Party we have one goal: Communism. But to get there — excuse me for reiterating — either all of us on Earth will get to Communism, or none of us will get there. We are totally opposed to Khrushchev's revisionist thesis, in which he talked about Communism in the USSR by the year 1980. Chairman Mao reaffirmed once again that either everyone or no one will enter the stage of Communism. That is why our revolution is unbreakably linked to the World Revolution. That is our final and definitive goal. Everything is stages, steps, moments. We believe that the prospect for arriving at Communism is a long way off. We believe that Chairman Mao Tse-tung's outlook on this is correct.

THE DAILY: They say that when the CPP seizes Power in this country, it will confiscate all kinds of property. Is this true? How will it deal with the foreign debt?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We've already seen that the Party Programme clarifies these matters. A democratic revolution like the one we are carrying forward has its targets, the three mountains we've already talked about. That is to say, that we are for breaking with imperialist, mainly Yankee, domination. But at the same time, we struggle to prevent social-imperialism or any other imperialist power from ever exercising domination over us. We are for the destruction of semi-feudalism, implementing the great slogan that is still valid: "land to the tiller". It is good to emphasize this, because many things are said about it. Chairman Mao stressed this slogan again and again, which for us means the destruction of semi-feudal property and the distribution of the land

as property to the peasantry, mainly the poor peasantry. And we are for the confiscation of bureaucratic capital, and I repeat again: this is very important because it gives the New Power an economic foundation from which to direct the economy and lead the way toward socialism. We are against those three mountains. As for the national, or middle, bourgeoisie, the policy is to respect their rights, and we adhere to this. Further than that we cannot go without changing the character of the revolution. The idea of “confiscating all property” is nothing but one of the tales, one of the lies, that they have always spread against Communists, as Marx so masterfully explained. To oppose Communism, the reaction and the enemies of the revolution have always concocted falsehoods and lies. Since the great founder of Marxism endured all these slanders, lies, and distortions of his sagacious teachings, we believe that what is being said against our Party is nothing but a continuation of that old reactionary school and of the enemies of the revolution.

THE DAILY: What will the Party do about the foreign debt?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Since it is imperialist property, it will be confiscated. And I think we can add that it is the only way to really get rid of this immense weight which is oppressing so many countries, and impoverishing nations and peoples. Only through revolution can this be done — there is no other way. All the other means and approaches that they raise are only aimed at getting imperialism off the hook. Furthermore, we believe historical experience bears this out.

THE DAILY: And the Communist Party, how is it solving the land problem? And what plans are APRA and PUM implementing?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The land problem is fundamental, because this problem is really the one that is resolved through democratic revolution, apart from the other questions we’ve already discussed. What we carry out is the destruction of semi-feudal relations of production, and the distribution of the land to the peasantry, mainly the poor peasants, then the middle peasants. On the condition that there is some land left, or if it is judged to be correct, land can be given to the rich peasants, and likewise, if it is correct or necessary, we can take land from them if there is not enough land to go around. Even the landlords, as the Chairman taught, if they want to work, can earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, as the saying goes, and learn what it is to till the land and not live from simply collecting rent. This is the policy we follow.

The policy of the Party on this question has been developing. One of the important things that we have done has been to promote a movement of land invasions, a very important one was in the department of La Libertad

where more than 300.000 hectares were distributed, and 160.000 peasants mobilized. Looking at all the mobilizations that we have had, this one succeeded in mobilizing the most masses. This movement was promoted in order to undermine APRA's plans, and we also carried it out in Puno; we were the ones who started the land invasions in Puno, while PUM was arguing with APRA about what to do and how to do it. This is the plain and simple truth. Later, the government was obliged to issue decrees for Puno in particular, decrees that they have not enforced. In this case, as in others in the Andean region, APRA has aimed to carry out the redistribution that Morales Bermúdez proposed when he was president. The dispute with PUM has been over how to do it, whether the government should do it alone or if other organizations would take part.

What have the government and PUM sought to do? To keep the river from overflowing its banks. This is what they've tried to do, and once more we see them doing what they did in 1974, when they were the "Revolutionary Vanguard", with the "land seizures" in Apurímac where thousands of peasants were mobilized. And for what? To negotiate based on Law 17716, a corporative law of Velasco's fascism. The famous Acts of Toxama and Huancahuacho stand as proof of this. Someone should answer for this, and it would be good to refresh their memories. Did they help the regime or not? They helped it, because their analysis then was that law 17716 was a good one, and that its only shortcoming was that it was not a socialist law. This is political stupidity, because the land problem is an elementary democratic demand. And if it were not, Marxism would have to be modified on this question. This is what they are resuscitating today in collusion with APRA. Well, there are some things that get said a lot. But it would be good if, being what they are, they would put their hands on their chests and make an act of contrition and come clean as to whether they have served the enemy, even serving as informants with the result that our forces were attacked. It would be good if they thought about this. It has been proven, and we've known since the '60s, and also through a new study that we carried out in the '70s, that the simple act of getting land, if it is not linked to a People's War, to the struggle to seize Power, simply produces an incorporation into the system, and becomes a prop of the system, and the same stagnant semi-feudal process continues. There is proof everywhere, Pomacocha and Ccacamarca, in the department of Ayacucho, for example. I think that those are things we have to think about. The experiences in Apurímac in 1974, the "land seizures" by "Revolutionary Vanguard", what ends did they serve? The setting up of a corporative system, the development of the associative forms. Was this

or was it not what Velasco wanted? Consequently this represented consolidation into the system, the evolution of feudalism, when the point is to demolish it, to destroy it. This is what PUM still does not understand today. Nor will they understand it. It requires analyzing things from another ideological viewpoint, from Marxism, in order to understand how to take and how to defend the land, with guns in hand. That's the point.

Furthermore, APRA has other plans. We must pay a lot of attention, especially to the plans they have for the uncultivated land of the coast, with the recent decrees, and "development plans" for those who have the ability to invest for the purpose of generating export products. And this is leading to a sham distribution and a scramble for land in Lambayeque, La Libertad, Ica, and in the Peruvian coastal region as a whole. With their recent decrees it is lawful to allot up to 450 hectares to one person. Will the poor be the ones who acquire these lands? With what money will they be able to dig wells, for example, in order to have access to water? Impossible. These are greedy plans whose results are already clear, a sham distribution. Why else are they in La Libertad? For whose benefit, if not for APRA's, and for its leaders and associates, outstanding among whom is Minister Remigio Morales Bermúdez, a partner in several big monopolist enterprises, who plays an important economic role. This does not benefit the peasantry, and on the coast there are also peasants who need land, and the land should be for them. And that's why we saw an uproar not long ago in La Libertad, condemning the plans to irrigate the land.

Other problems: the distribution of land in the jungle region, 30,000 hectares. Who will be able to administer this land? Dionisio Romero or someone similar. A poor peasant will not be able to oversee it, much less receive it. But the land is for those who work it, mainly for the poor peasantry. On the other hand, APRA has been handed a resounding defeat in their counter-revolutionary plans in the so-called Andean Triangle. And we openly say to them, as others have even said to them, that we made them see that the Andean Region exists in Peru. It is because of this that García Pérez has rediscovered his Andean Triangle in order to make his own showcase. But his perverse plans have failed, they have fallen apart, are paralyzed. If that's not true, what happened to the Cachi plan in Ayacucho? This plan was inaugurated by the man who calls himself president, who flew there in a helicopter, and with a lot of fanfare explained from the punas what he neither knows nor understands. Or the plan for Rasuwilca? We destroyed it because it was a counter-insurgency plan, and because we insist that the lands be given to the peasants who need them, mainly the poor peasants.

I also believe that mention should be made of a few other things, the *rondas*, the peasant patrols. What have they done with these organizations the masses created to defend themselves? These organizations are now under the control of the State, the armed forces, and the police. This is clear and concrete. And it is they, the United Left, who proudly approved that famous law, and today are throwing a fit over the regulations in this very law. But the regulations are derived from the law, so if you approved the law, you have to put up with the regulations. Basically, what they have done is simply facilitate what the army and the armed forces were demanding, a law to sanction the *mesnadas* or “defense committees” set up by them. They said that there was no legal protection for what they were doing. Well, such a law did exist, it was called the law of the peasant night patrols. Do the police use them or not? Does the army use them or not? Do the gamonals use them or not? This is the reality. They owe us an explanation for this. That much they owe us, not to mention their statutes. What are they like? Are they really Marxist? Were they drawn up based on the position of our class, of the people? Don’t they involve the outmoded ideology of the Incas? Don’t they express a position of Christian personalism? Don’t they work in close connection with the Church? If not, why does the Church publish their documents? And when I talk about the Church, I mean the ecclesiastical hierarchy. It would be good, when you have time and you need a little diversion, to read over these regulations. They are extremely revealing.

We also denounce APRA’s plans in Upper Huallaga where, under the pretext of fighting drug trafficking, they permit the use of the deadly pesticide “Spike”, which the Yankee monopolies themselves say is like a series of small atomic bombs.

THE DAILY: Chairman, what will be the main characteristics of the New Democratic People’s Republic that you and your Party propose?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Its characteristics are essentially those of a joint dictatorship. I insist on this, because in Peru we must think seriously about the problem of the State, and analyze it from the position of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. And the first thing that the problem of the State raises to us is the question of the State system, or the kind of class dictatorship that is exercised. In our case, it is a joint dictatorship. Presently it is a dictatorship of only three classes, the proletariat, the peasantry and the progressives (the petty-bourgeoisie). The national bourgeoisie is not taking part, but we respect their rights, this we do. The government system derived from the above is a system based on People’s Assemblies. How do we carry this out in practice? As Committees. And these People’s Committees grouped together form Support Bases,

and the sum of the Support Bases constitutes the New Democratic People's Republic. This is what we are unfolding and will be unfolding until the end of the democratic revolution. What I would like to stress is that the Party has decided "to sow the seeds of Power" so that the people begin to exercise it, and to learn to run the State. Because once they learn to run the State they learn that this State can only be maintained by force of arms, as it is conquered so must it be defended. "Sowing the seeds of Power" requires that we sow in people's minds the need for the New Power and that people see it in practice. This is what we are doing. The people perform the overall functions of leadership, construction and planning as part of the New Democratic People's Republic. I think that's enough on this subject, because other things have already been explained in the Party's documents.

5. INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

THE DAILY: Chairman, let's talk now about international politics. Since Communism is your goal, how do you see the conditions for World Revolution? And what problems do the Communists have to resolve?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We start from the understanding that revolution is the main trend, and this continues to be so, this trend put forward by Mao continues to develop. In our view, there has been no stability since the 2nd World War, not even relative stability. The whole world has been shaken by great revolutionary storms. They've come in waves, of course, because it couldn't be any other way.

We hold that there are three fundamental contradictions in the overall situation that is unfolding. The first and main contradiction is between the oppressed nations on one side, and the imperialist superpowers and other imperialist powers on the other. Although it may be redundant, we prefer to list them this way for the sake of clarity. This contradiction is resolved through democratic revolution, through People's War. A second fundamental contradiction is the one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This is resolved through socialist revolutions and proletarian cultural revolutions, but also through People's War, bearing in mind, I repeat, the type of revolution and the specific conditions of each country. A third contradiction is the inter-imperialist one, between the superpowers, between the imperialist superpowers and the imperialist powers, and among the imperialist powers themselves. These contradictions among them are resolved through aggression, and imperialist wars,

and tend toward defining who will have world hegemony through a 3rd World War.

Why do we put the contradictions in this order? Because we consider this to be their order of importance. We insist that the contradiction between the oppressed nations on one side, and the imperialist superpowers and imperialist powers on the other, is the main and of great importance for the World Revolution. It has to do, in our opinion, with the weight of the masses in history. It is obvious that the great majority of the masses who inhabit the Earth live in the oppressed nations. It is also evident that their population is increasing four times as rapidly as the population of the imperialist countries. We apply the principle that the masses are the makers of history, and we take into account the fact that the 2nd World War caused the masses to stand up politically (something that even reactionary US analysts recognize). We think that should the inter-imperialist contradiction generate a World War, it would be a new inter-imperialist war for world hegemony and redivision of the world; and therefore it would be to divide up the spoils of war, and the spoils are the oppressed nations. They would therefore have to proceed to occupy our countries in order to rule us. And so, once again, the contradiction between the oppressed nations on one side and the imperialist superpowers and imperialist powers on the other would become main.

We firmly believe in this, and it is not because of chauvinism or of being, as some say, inhabitants of oppressed countries or nations. It is not. This is the trend that can be seen in history, and this is the weight of the masses in history. And, moreover, facts continue to demonstrate that where imperialism is more and more being defeated and undermined is in the struggles that are being waged in the oppressed nations. Those are irrefutable facts. Therefore, we consider this main contradiction to be of great importance, and think that it is going to be decisive in eliminating imperialism and reaction from the face of the Earth, provided that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is put in command of the World Revolution, that Communist Parties develop based on this ideology, and that they take up People's War again, in accordance with the type of revolution and the specific conditions.

This is the way we understand the great importance of the main contradiction that we uphold. There are some who don't agree, and think that what's really going on is that we don't believe in revolution in the imperialist countries. We believe that these revolutions are a historical necessity and that the development of the main contradiction provides them with more favorable conditions, and that even a World War will provide more favorable conditions

for them to make revolution. And revolution will be made because it is a necessity. In the end, the two great forces, the two great revolutions, the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution must converge so that revolution may triumph in the world. Otherwise, it would not be possible to eliminate imperialism and reaction from the whole planet. That's what we think.

The question poses itself: what is the key point? It is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, because it is a question of having a correct ideological and political line, and you can't have a correct political line unless you have the correct ideology. For that reason, we think that the key to everything is ideology: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism. Secondly, the development of Communist Parties. Why? Because the masses thirst for revolution, the masses are ready and crying out for revolution. So the problem does not lie with them. The proletariat cries out for revolution, the oppressed nations, the peoples of the world cry out for revolution. So we need to develop Communist Parties. The rest, I repeat, will be done by the masses, they are the makers of history and they will sweep imperialism and world reaction away with People's War.

THE DAILY: What role is US imperialism playing in the world? What do you think of "Star Wars"? What about the so-called disarmament plans of the US, USSR and other European countries?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: In sum, US imperialism arose after the 2nd World War as the gendarme of world reaction. But later it entered into a contest for world hegemony with social-imperialism. Thus, both of them make big plans to win hegemony. The issue of "Star Wars", or the "Strategic Defense Initiative", which is its official name, is related to this.

The US government, particularly with Reagan, has started to elaborate big strategic plans that encompass decades of the next century. That is, they are thinking of their survival, and how to maintain hegemony and defeat social-imperialism. Within this, "Star Wars" is nothing but a plan that seeks to deploy a shield that would prevent missiles with atomic warheads from reaching their cities, and in turn allow them to protect themselves if they carry out an atomic attack against social-imperialism. But these are only plans and wishes, because up against one plan is another. Not long ago the Soviets retaliated by saying that there were ways to overcome this would-be shield, and consequently the supposed invulnerability of the US would not exist.

As to the issue of disarmament plans between the superpowers, the US and the USSR, we have to start from what Marxism as well as our own founder teaches us: the more they talk of peace, the more they prepare for war. A lot of empty talk, a lot of deceptive demagoguery is being made in relation

to the disarmament agreements they've signed for the withdrawal of medium range missiles from Europe. What is being disarmed is the missile, that is the vehicle, but they keep the warhead in order to use it for whatever suits them. That is the essence of the farce.

The European powers are obviously in the line of fire of both superpowers, and if there is a World War, they would like to prevent it from taking place in Europe. That's what they want, because at bottom they are eager, as is Japan, that the two tigers fight each other so that later one of them can emerge as a great power, as the supreme ruler. Such are the dreams of Japan, West Germany, etc. But a World War would also be waged in Europe, and the two superpowers are very aware of the Europeans' desires. So the situation creates contradictions among the powers and the superpowers, which unfold as a complex process involving collusion and contention. It could not be otherwise. How these powers fight to fulfill their dreams is also evident: Japan for dominance over Asia and South America, Europe over Africa and Latin America. And they don't restrict themselves to these regions, hence their bustling about and mediations, their separate and conflicting policies, because they each defend their own interests.

We believe that these are all demagogic debates that only serve to conceal big plans involving contention for world hegemony. That is what we believe, because imperialism will not cease to exist until we sweep it away. Its essence won't change — its essence is to exploit and oppress, to reduce nations to the state of semi-colonies and, if possible, to colonies. While I'm on the subject, it's high time that we go back to using these terms, because they are terms scientifically established by Lenin. But the point is that in the face of these plans the main thing is not simply exposing them, but getting prepared to take them on. And there is but one way to prepare, and that is by means of People's War. Chairman Mao said: we have to prepare ourselves and prepare ourselves right now against an imperialist war, and mainly against a nuclear war. How will we respond? Only with People's War, in no other way. That is the most important thing. Exposing them is part of carrying out a propaganda campaign that shows the world their sinister and hideous plans for mass genocide. But this will never stop a war, as Stalin clearly stated. These campaigns never stop wars, so the only thing to do if we want to prevent war, is to develop revolution. As the Chairman taught us: either revolution will prevent World War, or World War will give rise to revolution. This, I believe, is how we should view the situation.

THE DAILY: Chairman, what do you think about the Soviet State? Lately they've been talking a great deal about Perestroika. How do you see this question? What is your opinion of the attacks on Stalin?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Lately, the subject of Perestroika has been bandied about. Perestroika, as far as I have been able to see, because I think it is necessary to study it carefully and understand all the revisionist filth it contains, is part of this new offensive of modern revisionism that we Communists are facing. Gorbachev is thoroughly revisionist, a revisionist from head to toe. He claims that the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was a historical event of enormous importance in the USSR. That was the fateful Congress in which the dictatorship of the proletariat was attacked under the pretext of attacking Stalin. He admires Khrushchev, and portrays him as a great man, bold, determined, whose problem, he says, was that he fell into subjectivism, that he didn't elaborate correct plans, but overly ambitious plans that couldn't be carried out. Khrushchev was Gorbachev's teacher. And Gorbachev learned lessons from him, as well as from his other teacher, Brezhnev, even though he would like to distance himself from Brezhnev.

We have to focus on a key question with regard to Perestroika. Gorbachev himself says that Perestroika may be defined in many ways, but if we focus on "the key that expresses its essence most accurately, then we can say this, perestroika is a revolution". But there are those who don't see it that way. We have to pay very close attention to this. It is not a revolution, but a development of the counter-revolution, a more unrestrained unfolding of capitalist restoration aimed at eliminating what little remains that might serve the proletariat and people in combating social-imperialism. He says it is a revolution because it proposes an acceleration in the socio-economic sphere, a radical change, and an advance to a new type of State. What would that new type of State be? A more shamelessly bourgeois State, structured in a new way that they have not yet found a way to define, because it has not been defined, not even in their most recent conference. So Gorbachev is completely unabashed. That's why it is useful to call attention to this term, because it is generally said that "Perestroika is a restructuring period". But Gorbachev says that the term that corresponds perfectly is "revolution", and that is a mockery, an irony, an outrageous joke.

What else does this individual put forward? He is developing Khrushchev's positions. Let's look at the question of war. He says that a World War will lead to the disappearance of humanity. In his own words: "In this war there will be neither victor nor vanquished. There will be no survivors", "If a nuclear

war breaks out all living things will be obliterated from the face of the Earth”. And, “In a global nuclear conflict there will be neither winners nor losers, world civilization will inevitably perish”. But what does he add? Allow me to read, “Politics must be based on realities. And today the most formidable world reality is the vast military arsenals, conventional as well as nuclear, of the United States and the Soviet Union. This gives our two countries a special responsibility in relationship to the whole world”. What is this? Unabashedly he is telling us that his might is based on military superiority, and he brandishes it alongside the military power of Yankee imperialism, clamoring that they are all that matters in the world, and as a result, we are dependent on them. This is what he espouses, the most shameless, blatant superpower politics that we have seen. But according to him, it is not only a nuclear war that puts humanity at risk, but conventional war as well: given the sophisticated and deadly weapons that exist today, it could bring the same results. Thus Gorbachev tries to impose on us the most monstrous policy of subjugation. Faced with this, we raise even higher Chairman Mao Tse-tung’s banner, “It’s right to rebel”.

This high Russian official’s revisionist inventions lead him to propose “a new thought”. Listen clearly! A “new thought” that “takes into consideration, beyond ideologies and differences, the highest interests of humanity”. What happened to the formal mention of a class viewpoint? Isn’t this a revival on a higher level of Khrushchev’s preachings? Clearly it is. And an essential part of this “thought” is that war is no longer the continuation of politics by military means. In his own words, “Clausewitz’s maxim that ‘war is the continuation of politics by other means’, which was classic in its time, now turns out to be ever more desperately outdated. It is destined for the libraries”. But this thesis was upheld by Lenin and reiterated by Chairman Mao in this century and it is key in the military theory of the proletariat, and we are guided by it in the People’s War. Thus, Gorbachev clashes openly with Lenin, as did Khrushchev. And the so-called “new conditions” that lead to the revision of Marxist principles is an old story that has been used since the days of the old-style revisionists, so it shouldn’t serve as any type of comfort to this new revisionist standard bearer according to whom, “So much the better that in the West just as in the East new thoughts and new men are emerging, men who are beginning to see how they can reach agreement, because cooperation is the only thing possible”. But we say that this collusion between the two superpowers goes on so long as the conditions have not yet emerged for fighting a 3rd World War — if we do not sweep them away first. That is the essence of things, and I believe that it is necessary to point out clearly how Gorbachev, who perversely opposes Lenin,

is so brazen in his deceit that he calls himself a “follower of Lenin” who is bringing about a “return to Lenin” and “has learned a lot from Lenin”. This is what he tells us, and I believe these things are very corrosive.

On the other hand, after he advocates “basing international politics on moral and ethical norms common to the whole human race”, Gorbachev says, “What will happen to the military-industrial complex, they ask [...] to begin with, each job in the military-industrial complex costs two or three times more than in civilian industry. In place of one, we could create three jobs. In the second place, the present military sectors of the economy are connected with the civilian economy, and they do a lot to help it. This is a starting point to using their potential for peaceful purposes. In the third place, the Soviet Union and the United States could carry out extensive joint programs, pooling resources, and scientific and intellectual know-how to resolve the most diverse problems for the benefit of humanity”. Thus he swaggers like Khrushchev and opposes Lenin’s conception of imperialism and its economic process. Here also, as in everything, he is anti-Leninist, as is clear from his positions, similar to Teng’s, separating the Party from the State and promoting economic growth more and more in the service of the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

Like the other imperialists, the social-imperialist Gorbachev proposes to combat so-called terrorism. He commits himself to this and to the use of the United Nations for this purpose as well.

Finally, I think something deserves to be said about how he sees Latin America, and Nicaragua in particular. In Nicaragua he thinks that because a dictatorship, that of Somoza, was overthrown by a people’s revolution, this proves the correctness of the outlook that has guided and still guides the Nicaraguan Revolution. This is extremely revealing. Concerning Latin America, his view is that the Soviets have no interest in disrupting the empire, or as they say, the relations between the US and Latin America. This concerns us directly.

What do the social-imperialists of the USSR want? They are in a stage of trying to see how to resolve urgent problems. It is a moment when collusion is main, and so they look to contain or cool off points of conflict in order to devote themselves to the development of their economic systems, while they continue making big plans to contend for world hegemony. Collusion is temporary, conflict and struggle are absolute.

In conclusion, Perestroika is a perverse plan to continue with the modern revisionism that Khrushchev initiated. It is a new counter-revolutionary offensive of revisionism.

In regard to the attacks on Stalin, Khrushchev attacked him and so does Gorbachev, but Gorbachev has gone even further, rehabilitating those whom Stalin condemned. One of the things that should really make one think is the rehabilitation of Bukharin, as well as others. They've even recognized his status as a Party member. You have to ask yourself, who's left? Only Trotsky, now he's the only one left. The attack on Stalin remains, as it has been, a pretext for deepening capitalist restoration, developing political plans to wipe out anything that may remain, and that might be of some service to the people in once again making revolution. That is their dream, but it will amount to nothing but a dream, pure and simple.

Concerning Comrade Stalin, the revisionists say a lot about him and attack him. What is deplorable is that others should do the same, accusing him of all kinds of errors and maligning him. We believe that Comrade Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist. What Chairman Mao said about him is correct: his errors amounted to thirty percent, and the root of these errors was in his limitations in grasping dialectics. But no one can deny that he was a great Marxist. The attacks on Stalin by Gorbachev and his henchmen should make others, who claim to be Communists and who also attack and denigrate Comrade Stalin, think. They should really think about these coincidences there is something important behind these attacks.

THE DAILY: How do you see the present leaders of China? Are they in the counter-revolutionary camp? What is the way out for the Chinese people?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The present leadership of China is revisionist, and is really led by a perverse character, an old and rotten revisionist, Teng Hsiao-ping. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution he was thoroughly exposed and the world saw what he was and continues to be, an out and out revisionist, a lackey of Liu Shao-chi. It's Teng who is leading China, once a socialist country, in a rapid and all-out restoration of capitalism. It is pertinent to point out that positions espoused by Gorbachev were previously espoused by Teng, in accordance with his own conditions.

What camp are they in? China acts like a world power. This is the political road they are following, one of collusion and struggle with powers and superpowers. Their dream is to be a superpower in the next century, that's their dream. The way out of this, as in other cases, is revolution, People's War. Let's remember that Chairman Mao, towards the end of his brilliant life, said to Comrade Chiang Ching that she could carry the flag of revolution to the summit, pointing out to her, if you fail, you will fall, your body will shatter, your bones will break and then once again guerrilla war will have to be waged. He

gave us the answer. It's part of a poem. I don't remember the text very well, but that's the basic idea. The central point here is that guerrilla war will have to be waged again — People's War.

THE DAILY: Chairman, do you think there are socialist countries in the world today?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Frankly no, I don't think so. There are those who believe, for example, that Albania is a socialist country. I'd say to those who believe that Albania is socialist that they should study carefully, for example, the documents of the 8th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania. That would be a good thing to study, because it says there that the center of world reaction is US imperialism. And Soviet imperialism? What happened to the two enemies we have to fight? It was always just words. With Hoxha himself it was just words because he always wrote more about fighting Yankee imperialism than social-imperialism.

The same Congress also said that humanity has never been closer to its extinction than now. They repeat this just like the others, which is no mere coincidence. But what do they propose that we do? Concretely, expose imperialism. That is not the solution. Exposing imperialism will not stop a World War. The solution is to make revolution by carrying out People's War.

And if one looks at everything that is said there about the serious economic problems they have, one can see quite clearly the road that Albania has taken. However, it was not Ramiz Alia, the present leader, who chose this road, but Hoxha himself, who in 1978, in a speech before the electorate, stated that in Albania there were no antagonistic classes. We know very well what that means, because this question has been thoroughly explained by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. And if we add to this his deceitful attacks on Chairman Mao, on the development of Marxism, what is he but a revisionist? Therefore Albania is not socialist.

If we look at Vietnam, the road it is following is that of an instrument of the Soviet Union that today clamors for imperialist aid with an economy in crisis and ruin. So much blood, for what? It's because there, there was Ho Chi Minh, a centrist, as can be seen in his famous testament, where he says he regrets seeing conflict within the International Communist Movement, when the question was which side he would take in the struggle between Marxism and revisionism. A Communist has but one solution, to stand on the side of Marxism. Ho Chi Minh never did. Later came Le Duan, a rotten revisionist. Hence, the present situation in Vietnam.

This is why I hold that there are no socialist countries today. All this makes one reflect seriously, and come to understand the problem of restoration and counter-restoration. It's not a question that calls for lamenting or whining, as some try to promote. The point is to confront reality and understand it. And we can understand it if we grasp the question of restoration and counter-restoration that Lenin himself had put forward and that Chairman Mao masterfully developed. Historically, no new class has established itself in Power all at once. Power was seized and lost, resealed and lost again until, in the midst of great contests and struggles, that class was able to win and hold Power. The same thing is happening with the proletariat. But we've been left with great lessons, including in socialist construction. And so it has been a monumental experience.

In the final analysis, it is a historical process, and what we must be concerned about is how to prevent the restoration of capitalism. And every revolution that is in progress must think, as we've been taught, about the long years ahead, the long years to come, and be confident that the process of development for the proletariat in seizing Power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and defending it and leading the revolution has already been defined. There have already been great historical milestones achieved in this process, and so the prospects are that our class, learning its lessons, will seize Power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the world, and the proletariat will not be overthrown anymore, but will continue along this road of transformation until the State is brought to an end when we enter Communism.

THE DAILY: Chairman, with the triumph of the revolution, what kind of international relations will the New State have with bourgeois governments, especially with the Yankee State and with social-imperialism?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The situation is clear. We must put an end to the domination of Yankee imperialism over our country. At the same time we must prevent the social-imperialists from introducing their domination, as well as warding off domination by any other power. In synthesis, that's the answer to your question.

THE DAILY: Chairman, wouldn't the danger of total isolation put the New State in a precarious position?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We believe the following: that we must keep to the path that will lead us to the emancipation of our class, the path that will take us to Communism. And this path demands that we maintain our independence, so as to fulfill the interests of the proletariat in the World Revolution. We believe, as is known, that there are disputes and contradictions

among the imperialists, and these can be made use of, for example, to acquire certain resources. Since the market is getting tighter and tighter, and there is a real trade war, we may find those who will sell to us. Of course, they will demand an exorbitant price and, as Lenin said, we will pay them with our curses. But at the same time, there are oppressed nations, revolutions in progress, there is the international proletariat, there are the people throughout the world, and Communist Parties — they will help us and we will have to learn, because based on proletarian internationalism they will respond to our call and they will be well received. We are already seeing how ties between backward countries have been initiated, even how barter is used. We will find the appropriate forms.

We have not studied this question sufficiently, because it involves problems that will pose themselves in the future. We have general guidelines, but we agree with what Lenin said: You want to know what war is like? Wage it. And let us have inexhaustible confidence in the international proletariat, in the oppressed nations, in the people of the world; and most particularly in the Communists, in the Parties and Organizations, whatever their level of development. Holding fast to our ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, we will advance, even if we begin by feeling our way in the dark, finding temporary solutions for certain situations or for brief periods of time, until we find the definitive one. As Lenin taught us, no revolution can be planned out completely ahead of time. And many times it must grope its way forward uncertainly, finding temporary or momentary solutions but that's how it advances. This is our approach, because our fundamental weapon is our ideology. We take what Marx said as our starting point: how easy it would be to undertake a revolution if we were absolutely certain of winning and having the whole problem resolved it would be easy, but revolution is not like that. The question is to commit ourselves to it and carry it forward, no matter what the cost. Since the masses are the makers of history, our people will rise to the occasion, and since it falls to us to arm them with the overall weapon Marx has given us, then we will defend our State by force of arms, because no revolutionary State can maintain itself on the good graces of imperialism and reaction. And in this way, with this firmness, with this determination, with the conviction that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, gives us, we will find the way, and we will find new roads.

Chairman Mao has taught us that we must think in new ways and generate new forms; this is a fundamental question. He laid out that, in economic matters, the question comes down to a clear political line, organizational forms, and great efforts. In regard to all problems, especially those we face that have

not yet been resolved, we begin with a firm Maoist conviction that while there are Communist Parties and masses all manner of miracles will be achieved.

THE DAILY: How does the CPP see proletarian internationalism today, and in the future?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: First of all, we see it as a principle, a very important principle, because, as I'll say again, the proletariat is an international class and we Communists are internationalists, because in no other way can we serve Communism. Our Party has always been concerned with training its members, its fighters, and the masses in proletarian internationalism, concerned with educating them in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, to serve the World Revolution and to fight untiringly and unswervingly so that Communism may flower on Earth.

For a time we lost our links with other Parties. Later on, those ties were reestablished, and we are contributing in struggling for the International Communist Movement, which is why we are members of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement which we consider to be a step in the regrouping of the genuine Communists. We think that this is a complex task, because, if it is complex and difficult to form a Party and carry it forward, how much more complex will it be to struggle so that the Communists, through their different Parties and Organizations, can unite. We know that this is an enormous but indispensable task. We believe there are those who concur, who struggle; and we are struggling, with all the limitations we might have, to see that proletarian internationalism may again bring together the Communists in the world to struggle jointly for the realization of our final goal. We understand that the problem is extremely complex and difficult, but we Communists are made for this kind of task.

THE DAILY: How do you, Chairman Gonzalo, analyze the different struggles being waged today in the oppressed nations? How do you analyze the armed actions in Europe, and the various national movement?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: There are numerous struggles in the oppressed nations. There are struggles in Africa, in Latin America, and in Asia, a region of such importance and weight in the world. Asia always deserves our very special attention because of the weight of the masses in history, and because of what Marxism itself has taught us. We think that the problem with the struggles in the oppressed nations lies in the lack of or insufficient development of the Communist Parties. Yes, some Parties really are going to have to make great contributions. We believe, on the other hand, that the question is that People's Wars are not being developed. Consequently, we see the need to

persevere in contributing to putting Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in command of the World Revolution, so on that basis powerful Parties can be formed and lead People's Wars. We see this as the biggest limitation.

There are nationalist movements in the Middle-East, Palestine concretely, in South Africa, etc. But we believe that these revolutions, in order to really follow the path opened up by the new era initiated by the October Revolution, must develop Communist Parties, because without them the revolution cannot go all the way. Africa has given us several examples of this. In Algeria, for example, there was an armed struggle, and a very fierce one, but socialism was never built because they had no Communist Party to lead a real revolutionary struggle. Without Communist Parties, nationalist movements develop that seek simply to be recognized as nations, in order to change from being colonies to being semi-colonies, while remaining dependent on imperialism, or, in other cases, changing masters. We have seen this in various movements tied to England and France, for example. In other cases, armed struggles are developed that the United Nations resolves, deciding what will happen, like in Cyprus. So the point is not simply waging armed struggle. The heart of the matter is People's War, a Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Nevertheless, all these movements give strength to the struggle against imperialism, but they will only serve to completely wipe it out if they are led by a Communist Party waging a People's War.

As for the armed actions in Europe, we've seen protracted armed struggles. They are an expression of objective reality. Therefore, the task is not to condemn them, but to understand, study, and analyze them to see how they are an expression of the fact that there is also a revolutionary situation in old Europe. And beyond that, that there are those who have taken up arms, understanding that that is the only way to seize Power. This is a powerful blow to revisionism, because in Europe itself, considered to be one of their bastions, revisionism is beginning to be abandoned. Regardless of the level reached, and the problems that remain to be solved, this is undeniably an important advance.

In some cases, the national question is involved, as in Ireland. In other cases, the issue of how to make their revolution is raised. We believe that these struggles must be studied seriously. The problem is in understanding what their ideology is, what politics guides them, what class they serve, and how they approach the question of the superpowers. We believe that they deserve a lot of attention, especially when there are organizations that propose taking up Mao Tse-tung again, or that are starting to raise the need for a Party, or that the armed struggle alone is not enough. We must look at this as a new awakening

and understand that they might make a lot of mistakes when you get right down to it, who doesn't? But they themselves will sum up lessons from their errors, as they are doing, they'll advance, grasp Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and form Parties and wage People's War in accordance with the socialist character of their revolution and in accordance with their specific conditions.

In sum, to repeat, it is proof that in Europe, too, there is a revolutionary situation developing unevenly. There are people who are sick and tired of rotten revisionism who, in such difficult conditions, within the belly of imperialism where the struggle is complex and difficult, are taking up arms to change the world, which is the only way it can be done. This provides more hope, and helps us see that the main trend is revolution, and to see how Europe is also turning toward revolution. Let's also recognize that, after having been pioneers in the past, they are opening up a path and, in the end, providing more hope. And they deserve greater understanding from us since there are already those who are concerned about the Party and are taking up Mao Tse-tung again. That is, they want to return to Marxism and to grasp it completely as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. These struggles being waged in Europe also have their limitations and errors, as all struggles do, but we should see them as an expression of the irrepressible advance of revolution and how more and more countries and peoples are coming forward to take up arms to overthrow the existing order. They are summing up experience, and setting their course toward the Party and the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism.

For me, seeing revolution begin to open a path in Europe is reason to rejoice. And regardless of possibly stumbling and falling along the way, we must have confidence in the masses and in the peoples — confidence that, as in other places, they will make revolution with arms in hand, following Marxism. They will do it there as well, that is how we must think. I emphasize that we must see this in historical perspective, take a long-term view, study these movements seriously, and encourage everything that tends towards Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, forging a Party and developing People's War.

THE DAILY: What is your opinion of Nicaragua and Cuba?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: I would like to state what I said once when I was talking about these problems with some friends. Nicaragua carried out an incomplete revolution and their problem is that they didn't destroy the Power of the whole big bourgeoisie. They focused on being anti-Somoza. I believe that is one problem. A democratic revolution must wipe out the three mountains, and in Nicaragua that has not been done. Another thing is that the

revolution has developed within the Cuban framework, readjusted in recent years. And this simply leads, in the end, to dependence on the Soviet Union. How can we prove this? Because the fate of Nicaragua, like Afghanistan or the Middle-East, is discussed, manipulated, and dealt with in conversations between representatives of the two superpowers. The moves and countermoves they have made are indicative — the measures that are adopted in Nicaragua with regard to the “*contras*” coincide closely with meetings and agreements between the superpowers.

We believe that Nicaragua, in order to follow the correct path that the heroic Nicaraguan people certainly deserve, must develop the democratic revolution completely, and this demands a People’s War. They must break with dependence on the Soviet Union, take their destiny in their own hands, and defend their independent class interests. This requires a Party which, of course, adopts a proletarian outlook. Otherwise, they will, lamentably, continue being a pawn. We believe that the Nicaraguan people have demonstrated a great fighting spirit, and their historic destiny can lie nowhere but in developing the revolution as it must be developed, with a Party based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and People’s War, developing independently without the tutelage of any power, whether it be a nearby or distant one.

About Cuba, I can only say this concretely, they play a role in the service of the Soviet Union, not only in Latin America, but also in Angola, for example, and in other places. Cuba changed hands, from one master to another, by a process that the Cubans themselves call exceptional. One must recall clearly the basis that they laid out to guide their struggle: that there is no clear differentiation of classes, and what is needed, in sum, is a collection of saviors to redeem the oppressed. We’ve seen this along with the four following points in documents that are circulating in Peru. The problem here is not taking the class struggle as their starting point: “socialist revolution or a caricature of revolution”, which means upholding a one stage revolution in the oppressed countries; a United Front of three classes without the national bourgeoisie; no need for a Communist Party, which means dismissing the leadership of the proletariat; and the negation of People’s War starting with rejecting the need for Support Bases. These ill-fated principles are propagated by the Cubans.

Cuba has a big responsibility in America, because it provided hope. But we must remember very clearly what happened in 1970. Fidel Castro said that the strategy of armed struggle had failed, and he sought to abandon what he had encouraged and supported. Douglas Bravo confronted him, countering that the strategy had not failed, but Castro’s tactics had. But, unfortunately later

Bravo chose to accept amnesty. We believe all of this has generated a lot of problems in the Americas, but today these same criteria, readjusted to the dictates of the social-imperialist master, are being propagated and presented as a new revolutionary development being applied concretely in Nicaragua. This is false. What we must and do affirm is that Latin America is (and has been) ripe for People's War, and that is its road. Latin America has an important role to play. Let's not forget that it's "the backyard of the US" according to the arrogant Yankee imperialists. Latin America also has an importance for the world which it will realize if it grasps the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, forges Communist Parties and carries forward People's Wars as part of the World Revolution.

We Latin Americans will number over 500.000.000 at the end of this century. There is much that unites us, and we must work together because of this closeness, which doesn't mean that we can detach ourselves from the World Revolution, because we can only carry out our task as part of the World Revolution. Latin America is not enough. Communism is for the whole world or for no one.

THE DAILY: What is the Communist Party of Peru's contribution to the World Revolution?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Our main contribution is to uphold Maoism as the new, third, and higher stage of Marxism, committing ourselves to help put this ideology in command of the World Revolution, and as part of this to demonstrate the validity and all-encompassing perspective of Maoism. Also, to demonstrate that if one sustains oneself by relying on one's own efforts, maintaining independence from the superpowers or any other imperialist power, it is possible to make revolution, and what's more, it is necessary to do it that way. And to demonstrate the power of People's War, which makes itself felt despite all our limitations. And if possible, to provide, as some have said, hope, which implies responsibility — to be a beacon for the World Revolution, an example that can serve other Communists. In this way we are serving the World Revolution.

OTHER POINTS

THE DAILY: Chairman, we have come to the end of this interview. We've been talking with you for more than 12 hours. Now we'd like to talk about you personally, about Dr. Abimael Guzmán Reinoso. Was there anyone

among your family or friends who influenced you in the development of your vocation and ability in politics?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: I'd say that what has most influenced me to take up politics has been the struggle of the people. I saw the fighting spirit of the people during the uprising in Arequipa in 1950 — how the masses fought with uncontainable fury in response to the barbarous slaughter of the youth. And I saw how they fought the army, forcing them to retreat to their barracks. And how forces had to be brought in from other places in order to crush the people. This is an event that, I'd say, has been imprinted quite vividly in my memory. Because there, after having come to understand Lenin, I understood how the people, how our class, when they take to the streets and march, can make the reactionaries tremble, despite all their power. Another thing was the struggles of 1956, when the people fought, while others betrayed them — well, that is what the opportunists and reactionaries do — but the people fought and carried the day, and there were mass movements, powerful ones. These events, for example, helped me understand the power of the masses, that they make history.

I also had the occasion, going back a little further now, to see the uprising in Callao in 1948, to see with my own eyes the people's courage, how the people were brimming with heroism, and how the leadership betrayed them. And going back even further in my memory, I believe that the 2nd World War affected me profoundly. Yes, I remember, if that's possible, not very clearly — but as if in a dream — when the war began in September of 1939, the uproar and the news on the old radios. I remember the bombing, the important news. I remember the end of the war too, and how it was celebrated with the blast of ships' horns, loudspeakers, a great clamor and happiness because the 2nd World War had ended.

I had a chance to see the so-called big five in the newspapers, and Comrade Stalin was among them. So I'd say that these events left their mark on me, and impressed upon me in an elemental and confused way the idea of Power, of the masses, and of the capacity of war to transform things. All these things exerted an influence on me. I believe that like every Communist I am the child of the class struggle and of the Party.

THE DAILY: At what age did you take up Marxism? Were you still in school, or were you at the university?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: My interest in politics began to develop at the end of high school, based on the events of 1950. In the following years, I remember forming a group with my schoolmates to study political ideas. We

were very eager to study all kinds of political ideas. You can probably understand what kind of period that was. That was the beginning for me. Then in college, the struggle at the university, I experienced firsthand big strikes, confrontations between Apristas and Communists, and debates. And so my interest in books was sparked. Someone saw fit to lend me one, I believe it was “One Step Forward, Two Steps Back”. I liked it, I began to study Marxist books. Then the figure of Comrade Stalin made a big impression on me. At that time people who were drawn to Communism and those who became Party members were trained using “Problems Of Leninism”. It was our mainstay and I studied it as it deserved to be studied, seriously, given its importance. Stalin’s life interested me. He was, for us, an example of revolution. I had problems getting into the Communist Party. They had an absurd policy. To become a member, you had to be the son or daughter of a worker, and I wasn’t. But others had different criteria and so I was able to join the Party. I participated in the defense of Stalin. At that time, taking him away from us would have been like taking away our soul. In those days, the works of Stalin were more widely propagated than those of Lenin. That’s what the times were like.

Later I made a trip to Ayacucho for work reasons. I thought it would be a short stay, but it lasted for years. I thought it would just be for a year, because that’s what the arrangements were. I had my plans, the proletariat had others. The masses and the people change us in many ways; Ayacucho helped me discover the peasantry. At that time, Ayacucho was a very small town, mainly countryside. If you go to the poor sections, even today, you find peasants there, and if you walk towards the outskirts, in 15 minutes you’re already in the countryside. There too, I started to understand Chairman Mao Tse-tung, I advanced in understanding Marxism. The conflict between Marxism and revisionism has been very important in my development.

Some unlucky soul lent me the famous Chinese Letter, “A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement”. He lent it to me on the condition that I’d return it. Obviously it was an understandable theft. The letter led me to get more deeply into the great struggle between Marxism and revisionism.

I committed myself to work within the Party and to wipe out revisionism, and I believe that together with other Comrades we achieved it. We gave up on one or two who were too far gone, they were dyed-in-the-wool revisionists. Ayacucho was of enormous importance for me, it has to do with the revolutionary road and Chairman Mao’s teachings. So through this whole process

I was becoming a Marxist, and the Party was molding me, resolutely and patiently, I believe.

THE DAILY: Many people know that you've been to China. Did you ever meet Chairman Mao?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: I was not that fortunate. I was only able to see him from a distance. But I saw the recognition and deep affection of the people for a Great Leader, an extraordinary Marxist, a pinnacle of Marxism. I didn't have the good fortune of meeting him, as I said. The delegation I belonged to made a lot of errors and demonstrated some foolish arrogance. I think that kept them from granting us that privilege.

Yes, I've been to China. In China I had the chance, which I'd like to see many have, of being in a school where politics was taught, from international questions to Marxist philosophy. They were masterful lessons given by proven and highly competent revolutionaries, great teachers. Among them I can remember the teacher who taught us about open and secret work, a man who had devoted his whole life to the Party, and only to the Party, over the course of many years — a living example and an extraordinary teacher. He taught us many things, and he wanted to teach us more but some didn't accept it — after all, there are all sorts of people in this life. Later, they taught us about military questions. But here they also began with politics, People's War, then the forging of the armed forces, strategy and tactics. And then the practical part that went with it, like ambushes, attacks, military movements, as well as how to assemble explosive devices. When we were handling delicate chemicals they urged us to always keep our ideology first and foremost, because that would enable us to do anything, and do it well. We learned to make our first demolition charges. For me it is an unforgettable example and experience, an important lesson, and a big step in my development — to have been trained in the highest school of Marxism the world has ever seen.

Well, if you'd like an anecdote, here's one. When we were finishing the course on explosives, they told us that anything can explode. So, at the end of the course, we picked up a pen and it blew up, and when we took a seat it blew up, too. It was a kind of general fireworks display. These were perfectly calculated examples to show us that anything could be blown up if you figured out how to do it. We constantly asked, "How do you do this? How do you do that?". They would tell us, don't worry, don't worry, you've already learned enough. Remember what the masses can do, they have inexhaustible ingenuity, what we've taught you the masses will do and will teach you all over again. That

is what they told us. That school contributed greatly to my development and helped me begin to gain an appreciation for Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Later, I studied some more and I have tried to apply it. I think I still have a great deal to learn from Chairman Mao Tse-tung, from Maoism, as well as from Mao's practice. It isn't about trying to compare myself to him, it is simply using the highest pinnacles as a reference point for achieving our objectives. My stay in China was an unforgettable experience. I was there on another occasion as well, when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was beginning. We asked them to explain what was then called Mao Tse-tung Thought. They taught us some more and that helped me understand more, a little more I should say. One thing that seems ironic is that the more I understood Mao Tse-tung, the more I began to appreciate and value Mariátegui. Since Mao urged us to apply creatively, I went back and studied Mariátegui again, and saw that we had in him a first rate Marxist-Leninist who had thoroughly analyzed our society. It seems ironic, but it's true.

THE DAILY: How does it feel to be the man most wanted by the repressive forces of the government?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: It feels like you're doing your job and working hard at it. What remains is to shoulder more responsibility for the revolution, the Party, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, for our class, the people and the masses. And to always understand that we carry our lives on our fingertips. If that weren't so, we couldn't be Communists. So they have their reasons. Mine are those established by the Party, to which I wish to be more and more true and useful, because life can become entangled anywhere along the road, moreover it has a beginning and an end, more time, less time.

THE DAILY: Is there anything you're afraid of?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Fear? I believe that fear and lack of fear form a contradiction. The point is to take up our ideology, and unleash the courage within us. It is our ideology that makes us brave, that gives us courage. In my opinion, no one is born brave. It is society, the class struggle, that makes people and Communists courageous — the class struggle, the proletariat, the Party, and our ideology. What could the greatest fear be? Death? As a materialist I know that life will end some day. What is most important to me is to be an optimist, with the conviction that others will continue the work to which I am committed, and will carry it forward until they reach our final goal, Communism. Because the fear that I could have is that no one would carry on, but that fear disappears when one has faith in the masses. I think that the worst fear, in the end, is not to have faith in the masses, to believe that you're

indispensable, the center of the world. I think that's the worst fear and if you are forged by the Party, in proletarian ideology, in Maoism mainly, you understand that the masses are the makers of history, that the Party makes revolution, that the advance of history is certain, that revolution is the main trend, and then your fear vanishes. What remains is the satisfaction of contributing together with others to laying the foundation so that some day Communism may shine and illuminate the entire Earth.

THE DAILY: What do you do when you're not busy with politics and the war? What books do you read?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Many times I don't have time to read what I'd like to. What do I like to read? I read a lot of biographies. I think that literature is a great form of artistic expression. For instance, I like to read Shakespeare, yes, and to study him. When you study Shakespeare you find political issues. There are very clear lessons in "Julius Caesar" for example, and in "Macbeth". I like literature, but politics always wins out with me, and leads me to look for the political significance, what is behind it. After all, behind every great artist there is a political leader, there is a man of his time who is waging class struggle. I have also read Peruvian novels and sometimes I reread them.

I once read a short work by Thomas Mann about Moses. Afterwards, we used it to help us politically interpret a struggle in which we were involved at the time. One part of this work says that one can break the law, but not negate it. How did I interpret this? To break the law is to go against Marxism, to deviate, to have wrong ideas. That is permissible, but one cannot allow Marxism to be negated. I think it is possible to learn many things. I read "Broad and Alien Is The World", and "All The Races", and I have studied them as well. I like literature and music. Before I liked music more, now I enjoy it less. What other interests? I like science, books about science. In my early days at the university, I studied law because I had to have a profession. But I liked philosophy and I devoted myself to it. Through philosophy I discovered science. I spent a lot of time studying questions of mathematics and physics. In my opinion, physics is an extraordinary science. It is quite fitting to call it "an adventure of the mind". The problem with science is that scientists, whose starting point is a materialist one, are good so long as they stay within the realm of science, but when they start to get into philosophy or other areas, if they are not materialists, they fall into idealism. This happened even with Einstein. I like science, I think it is extraordinary. This inclination for science can be seen in the thesis that I wrote for my degree in philosophy. It is an analysis of time and space according to Kant, from a Marxist point of view, using mathematics and physics. I would

like to read it again, because there's no time now to go back and study all that again. But I don't even have a copy.

THE DAILY: Do you like poetry as well?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Yes. At one time I was surveying world poetry in an anthology. And I studied it before, too — there were some works at the university library that I had access to. I like poetry. It is another one of the things I admire about Chairman Mao, who was an extraordinary poet. As to Peruvian poetry, for me, Vallejo. Yes, he is ours, and besides, he was a Communist.

THE DAILY: Some say that your speeches, “The Flag” and “Initiate the Armed Struggle in 1980” are beautiful political poems of war. What do you say about that, Chairman?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: I'd say that sometimes in politics you have to let yourself go, so that the passion, the deep feelings, can strengthen our determination. At such times, so they say, the heart speaks and I believe that the revolutionary passion which is indispensable for war expresses itself. What literary value it might have I couldn't really say.

THE DAILY: Do you ever get depressed?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: No. I believe that I've got an almost built-in optimism. And I occupy myself more with problems of understanding and conviction than with problems of feelings or depression. On the contrary, I think that I am quite optimistic. It is Marxism, Chairman Mao, who has made us understand that people, especially Communists, are optimists. Whenever I find myself in a difficult situation I strive to look for its positive aspect or for what potential for development may still exist within that situation, because nothing is completely black, nor is anything completely red. Even if there were to be a big defeat, even though we have not had one yet, there would always be a positive aspect. The point is to draw out the lessons, and continue to do our work based on the positive aspect. You will always find someone to support you, to lend their ardent enthusiasm and assistance to the struggle, because Communism unites people.

THE DAILY: Do you have friends?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: No, I don't. I have Comrades. And I am very proud of having the Comrades I have.

THE DAILY: Chairman, we have reached the end of this interview.

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We have worked very hard and I thank you for your efforts. I very much appreciate the difficulties you've had to go through in order to meet with me and be able to publish this first interview,

which will reach the people through “The Daily”, a newspaper that has fought tenaciously to serve the people. Thank you very much.

THE DAILY: Thank you, Chairman.

Peru, July 1988

Central Committee

Communist Party of Peru

SPEECH CONCERNING THE PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU⁹

1988

PRESENTATION

Before, by way of presentation, it is necessary to reiterate and we are going to do it once and a thousand times more that the defense of Chairman Gonzalo and of Gonzalo Thought is a task indissolubly united to the task of imposing Maoism as the only command and guide of the World Revolution, so that Maoism may go on to lead the New Great Wave of the World Revolution, which is currently developing in the stage of its strategic offensive and is doing so by generating militarized Communist Parties, to develop the People's War in the different countries of the world and to converge in the World People's War with which we will sweep imperialism and reaction from the face of the Earth. All in a struggle to the death against revisionism.

Suffice it to say that it is Chairman Gonzalo who has defined Maoism as the third, new and higher stage of the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism for all the Communists of the world. It has given us the first reconstituted Communist Party, as a militarized Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Communist Party. And with the initiation and development of the People's War it contributes decisively to the World Revolution, demonstrating the validity of Maoism and the universal validity of the People's War. For this reason the Communist Parties and Maoist Organizations of Latin America and the world have established the need to uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with the universally valid contributions of Gonzalo Thought.

Chairman Gonzalo has been for nearly 26 years in a cell of absolute isolation, without communication with the Communist Party of Peru (CPP) and other revolutionaries and progressives of Peru and the world, only the representatives of the judicial, prison and repressive apparatus of the old Peruvian State and the agents of imperialism and the rats of the revisionist and

⁹ Document prepared for publication by the Peru People's Movement (Reorganization Committee) based on the minutes of the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Peru, 1988-89. Edited based on further excerpts published on "New Peru".

capitulationist Right-Opportunist Line (ROL) have access to him. The Yankee CIA and the intelligence officers of reaction have made known on various occasions how they have manipulated and fabricated information destined for the most important revolutionary prisoner of war in the world, they themselves say, full of cynicism, that on one occasion they have given him a single issue of “Caretas” magazine, manufactured expressly for him and the CIA agent Merino declared in court that he had fabricated the so-called “peace letters”.

All of the above leads us to express that we do not recognize or accept anything that imperialism, reaction or the ROL rats say about Chairman Gonzalo, nothing they say he has said, written, signed, etc., and they do not represent anything and lack anything of any kind, and neither do the photos, newspaper reports made on the basis of information notes of the repressors, the videos or alleged presentations made by the enemy of Chairman Gonzalo, even more so if he is only surrounded by judges, prosecutors, jailers, soldiers, policemen, lawyers and their ROL servants, represent anything and lack any validity. All this is a material truth that no one with a handful of brains and, moreover, no dialectical materialist can deny. This is the partisan and historical truth. It is decisive for us to hold fast to Chairman Gonzalo’s Great Leadership and Thought in order to complete the still pending task of the General Reorganization at home and abroad to overcome the turning point and the bend in the People’s War. The people clamor to be led by the Party, the people need the development of the People’s War, the international proletariat and the peoples of the world encourage us with their struggles and hopes, shedding their blood in the struggle against imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism and semi-feudalism.

The Communists of our country cannot allow their souls to be snatched away by the enemy, which is what he intends, the enemy with the service of the ROL wants to snatch from us the Great Leadership of Chairman Gonzalo based solidly on his all-powerful Gonzalo Thought.

June 2018

Reorganization Committee

Peru People’s Movement

SPEECH CONCERNING THE PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU

Regarding the Programme, we must think that the Programme must be a document that establishes principles in a concrete way and that at the same time serves to highlight the basic principles that we need to enumerate in an exhaustive way in order to manage them better, this is our need. Thus, the Statutes of '45 or '69 in China are not written in this way; but we have to think of making the documents according to what our Party needs at present; we must always keep in mind that we have a new militancy that has a little formation, that we must deliver a document in consequence that allows them to have clearer, more concrete things and that at the same time are easier to study and understand; that is why we list in this way, with asterisks, the problems of principles. This Programme and Statutes are adjusted not only to what is read in the 7th and 9th Congresses of the Communist Party of China (CPCh). But also to what Chairman Mao Tse-tung presents us as a Programme in "On Coalition Government" in volume III; those are our bases, apart from having seen those Programmes we have just read, the Programmes established by Lenin and also the Programmes analyzed by Marx and Engels; "Critique of the Gotha Programme", for example, is very interesting, of great transcendence, we must think that this was written by Marx himself, of course, as prior knowledge and acceptance of Engels, because they always acted like that.

PROGRAMME

"The Communist Party of Peru is based on and guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism and, specifically, by Gonzalo Thought as a creative application of the universal truth to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian Revolution, as made by Chairman Gonzalo, Great Leader of our Party." It is very concrete. Here we would have nothing to substantiate, as we have already done so; it would be useless, especially in the absence of time, to reiterate what we have already seen at length.

"The Communist Party of Peru, organized vanguard of the Peruvian proletariat and integral part of the international proletariat, especially upholds the following basic principles [...]" And to highlight that the Party assumes very specially the following basic principles, that is to say, to highlight basic principles, but it does not say that those are all of them but that those are the ones we assume very especially; that must be taken into account, [...] there are 11 and in order not to number them but to highlight them well, we have put an asterisk because it would not be good to put 1, 2, 3, 4, it would

not be right; but then why do we not put them one after the other? Because this way it is clearer, sharper, that is the reason.

“Contradiction as the only fundamental law of the incessant transformation of eternal matter”. We adhere to this world outlook, from there we must start, it is very clear, it is the world outlook. Here we express our condition of materialists when we say eternal matter and dialectics when we emphasize contradiction. Here then is world outlook in condensed form.

“The masses make history and ‘it is right to rebel’”. Here we move on to the social world, to the society that is the product of the masses. Why do we put “It is right to rebel”? Because this is a great principle established by Chairman Mao Tse-tung; he says that up until then servitude was taught, the subjugation of the masses, but it is Marx who calls the masses to rebel, establishing a turn in history. Here what we have put is that in the Chairman’s quote “It is right to rebel!”, which is part of a more extensive quote where he expresses what I have just said, that is what is expressed there, the turn that Marxism implies of the role of the masses in society, the problem of rebellion, the negation of the submission of the masses; never before had it been raised in this way, they had always been called to submission, capitalism is a clear expression of that.

“Class struggle, dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism”. What does this part deal with? With the motor, with the contradiction in the social world, it deals with it because that contradiction expresses itself in class struggle. It establishes a connection between class struggle, dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism. Marx told us that he had not discovered the class struggle because it was done by French historians, that is true; what Marx did was to give a foundation of the basis that supported the classes and the class struggle and he drew the transcendental conclusion that the class struggle led to the dictatorship of the proletariat, but being the class, the proletariat being a single class at international level that develops in the various countries of the Earth, then we have to raise proletarian internationalism, because the class has the same interest, the same common goal, no matter if it is Peruvian, Bolivian, Japanese, North American, French or whatever, it is the same class, the same goal, the same interest, that is why we have to raise proletarian internationalism.

“The need for a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Communist Party that firmly applies independence, autonomy and self-reliance”. Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in 1948, reiterating Lenin and Marx, speaks of the need for the Communist Party, because without a Communist Party there is no way for the

proletariat to lead the revolution nor to serve the people. What we must emphasize is our Marxist-Leninist-Maoist condition, in accordance with what it says in the paragraph, it is not simply a Marxist-Leninist Party; the declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) speaks of Marxist-Leninist Parties, we cannot speak like that, we are a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party, it is not possible to be in the case, as the RIM states, Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung Thought and have a Marxist-Leninist Party, at least we should put: Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung Thought Party, there is then always the problem of staying within Marxism-Leninism, that is why this is why we must affirm it.

As for firmly applying independence: Since Marx it has been established that the Communist Party is a Party distinct from and opposed to all the others, because it has its own class interest, opposed to, distinct from that of the other classes. because while the other classes seek property, the proletariat does not; from there derives its condition of final class in history and derives a goal, Communism; only the proletariat has that historical task, that is why we must emphasize its independence from the parties of other classes. Autonomy: a Party must decide for itself, because the Communist Party — in our case — responds to the Peruvian Revolution, as a part of and serving the World Revolution, in agreement, but for the Peruvian Revolution we must have autonomy, we cannot follow any command staff; the Chairman reiterated many times: **“There is no father Party, there is no son Party, the Parties are equal and each Party must decide for itself”**, for that reason what fits between Parties is the conversations to arrive at common points, in common agreement; this is very important, no command staff! That is revisionism! Self-reliance: the Party must base itself on its own forces; the main thing is, from this, to base itself on its own forces to establish its politics, that is the main thing in self-reliance, it is necessary to think well because sometimes it is reduced to a simple economic question, it is also part, but it is not the main thing, Comrades; also, of course, it means that a Party should not live on what another gives it, that is not to rely on its own efforts, but obviously this does not deny, in any way, proletarian internationalism and the fraternal help that some Parties owe to others, that is already a problem of proletarian internationalism.

“To combat imperialism, revisionism, and reaction unbreakably and implacably”. We consider that although it is said to combat imperialism and to combat revisionism, it is an unbreakable and implacable struggle, it is also necessary to combat reaction because these three: imperialism, revisionism and reaction, are unbreakably united and all three must be fought implacably. What is the point of this? To emphasize that there is also an obligation to fight

reaction implacably. For example, the reactionary ideology of the Catholic Church, are we going to accept it, the semi-feudal world outlook, are we going to accept it, the feudalists, the reactionary ideas in the world or reactionary systems in the world, are we going to accept them? No. Are they linked to revisionism? Yes, it is enough to see that fetid alliance between Communists and Catholics raised by the Italian Party, a clear revisionist position. That is what we put forward. Imperialism and revisionism are not enough, also reaction, because, I repeat, is imperialism linked to revisionism? Yes, and reaction, too.

“To conquer and to defend power with the People’s War”. It is a reaffirmation that power can only be conquered with People’s War and only through it can it be defended; I believe that it needs no further substantiation.

“Militarization of the Party and concentric construction of the Three Instruments of the Revolution”. Here it is only appropriate to put it that way, because it is the Programme and Statutes of the CPP: here we could not put “of the Communist Parties”, in any way. We are not naming other Parties, we are regulating ourselves; I think we also understand that.

“Two-line struggle as the driving force of Party development”. It is the problem that the contradiction energizes the life of the Party and this is concretized in the two-line struggle, between the proletarian line and all the other lines, especially bourgeois, which in the end is concretized in revisionism.

“Constant ideological transformation and to always put politics in command”. The ideological transformation is fundamental for all of us, for all the militants, for the whole Party, it cannot stop, it cannot end, because it is necessary to change the soul completely and utterly.

[...]

It takes place through successive leaps in step with the development of the revolution according to its stages and periods; because the definitive change, the change of soul, the new soul, will only be expressed in Communism and in the meantime, we are proclaimers of that new soul, but we are elements of a transition period between the old society and the future new society that is Communism. This should be of great importance to us. To always put politics in command, we already know, we have seen it when speaking of Maoism; if we do not put politics in command, it is not that we do not put politics or avoid it, we are putting another politics in command, that of the bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie or whatever it may be.

“To serve to the people and the Proletarian World Revolution”. This is what the Chairman has taught us; every militant has to be guided by

serving the people and the Proletarian World Revolution, by proletarian internationalism.

“An absolute unselfishness and a just and correct style of work”.

Absolute unselfishness was taught by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and why is absolute unselfishness demanded of us? Because we correspond to a class which has no property, which aims to sweep away private property of the means of production and which has no other interest than to arrive at Communism, to reach the final goal; as we will not see that goal, we are expressing absolute unselfishness — because we will not see that goal, Comrades — it is an expression of the destruction of particular interests as part of the class whose essence is to be extinguished as such, it is part of being Communists, that is to say, to assume the interests of the proletariat. As for the style of work, the Chairman masterfully synthesized it, telling us: **“Link theory with practice, integrate with the masses and practice criticism and self-criticism”**; these are the three styles of work, it is masterful.

These are what we understand by basic principles. If the Comrades analyze this, they see that it goes from the most universal which, is our world outlook to the condition of Communist, of militant, why? They are threaded. From the world outlook expressed in contradiction and eternal matter, we pass to the social world in which we move, the Party; from there we establish the principle of masses and rebellion; having posed the problem of masses, we pass to the problem of class struggle, which is the contradiction of society, because the masses are grouped in classes and these struggles and they do it for the dictatorship of the proletariat as a consequence of the whole process of class struggle, it is the inevitable consequence, and that poses us the dictatorship of the proletariat; established this, from what guides the proletariat as an international class, we pass to the Party which is its highest organization, the first social organization; from Party we pass to what the Party fights: imperialism, revisionism, reaction; then we pass to how the Party conquers power, because it is the center or the central task of the revolution; from there we pass to how the Party organizes itself to fulfill the task that corresponds to it: militarization and concentric construction; then how the Party develops: two-line struggle; and from there already, we have seen world outlook, seen the question of society, seen the question of the proletariat, seen the problem of the Party, seen how it fights, seen its tasks, seen how it is organized, how it develops, we pass to the problem of the constant ideological transformation and put politics in command as a guide of the Party and of the militancy; here already enters the problem of militancy, also of the Party? Obviously; to end with serving the people

and the Proletarian World Revolution and absolute unselfishness and style of work. In that way they are ordered. I think it is good to point it out because they could ask them and why are they put like that? That is the reason Comrades: it goes from world outlook to militancy. Some things you could ask: But why do you put world outlook first, it seems to us that it is fundamental? But in other places it is not put, but we see that the current need demands to put it, that is our condition because it is not usual, there is none. It is convenient for us because we insist that the Programme and Statutes are in accordance with what the Party needs, this Party; the established examples serve us as an example to solve our own problem: it always remains the application to our reality.

“The Communist Party of Peru has Communism as its final goal; given that the current Peruvian society is oppressed and exploited by imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism, and semi-feudalism, the revolution has first a democratic stage, then a second socialist one that will later develop successive cultural revolutions. Presently with the People’s War the Party develops the democratic revolution, having as its immediate goal to seize Power countrywide.” In this paragraph we had to necessarily put Communism as the final goal and this must be emphasized, because if we did not put it, we would not be a Communist Party. If in thinking about that goal we have to see what the current reality is, this must also be emphasized: current Peruvian society is oppressed and exploited; oppressed refers to the political domination exercised, that is expressed by the word oppressed and oppression which is its noun and exploited refers to exploitation, to how surplus value is generated, how profits are generated which are devoured by the exploiting classes, it is an economic expression; oppression refers to politics and exploitation, to economic basis, that is what it refers to. And who oppresses and exploits us? it says oppressed and exploited — by whom? By imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism and its semi-feudalism, that is the present situation of the country, of Peruvian society, we already know: imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism, semi-feudalism. That is why the Peruvian Revolution has stages, which is the other thing we should emphasize: a democratic stage, a second socialist stage and later to develop successive cultural revolutions, which in our understanding are a third stage, but I think this requires another explanation and it is how to see the revolution; the night before last, we were asking some Comrades how we saw the dynamic process of this, it is at a certain moment that the cultural revolution will become a stage, that is what we think, but we do not need to put it here in the Programme. We should also emphasize that we are in a People’s War, with it the Party is developing the democratic revolution and

that the immediate goal is to culminate it by conquering power throughout the country. These things must be analyzed, highlighted and seen part by part; think Comrades, that it is a Programme, that it is synthesized, condensed, because that is how it should be, but in explaining, we must explain this problem.

[...]

Next comes the GENERAL PROGRAMME OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION; because that is what the previous paragraph says in its final part **“Because of this we raise the following objectives”**, why? Because we are currently in the stage of the democratic revolution which, no matter how armed it is developed, continues to be democratic, and if we wage war it is because it is the only way to carry it forward, it does not change, it has nothing to do with the Programme, but it should be emphasized. From there then we move on to:

GENERAL PROGRAMME OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

With 14 points.

“1. Demolition of the Peruvian State, the dictatorship of the exploiters led by the big bourgeoisie, and of the armed forces and forces of repression that sustain it and of all its his bureaucratic apparatus.”

What are we talking about here? The demolition of the Peruvian State, that is the question, that is the key, here is everything: **“demolition of the Peruvian State”**. We have taken there the words of Marx, do you remember when he speaks of the Paris Commune? He says that he showed that it was necessary to demolish, very expressive word, from there we have taken it, it is a very precise concept as well as expressive. It can be read as follows: demolition of the Peruvian State, of the armed and repressive forces that sustain it and of all its bureaucratic apparatus. Of course, otherwise there would be no demolition because in order to demolish the State it is necessary to demolish two things fundamentally: one, the armed forces which are the backbone of the State and the repressive apparatus linked to this system, and the bureaucratic apparatus; these are the two fundamental parts of the State, of which the demolition of the armed and repressive forces is the main one because they are the backbone, here it says: **“that sustain it”**. That is the thesis established from Marx to Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

The phrase that says “**dictatorship of the exploiters led by the big bourgeoisie**” aims to emphasize that the Peruvian State is a dictatorship; is it of classes, that is obvious, otherwise it would not be a dictatorship, or could there be dictatorship without classes, could there be? There could not, that is why it is enough to put dictatorship. That is what we must emphasize. But also, “**of the exploiters**”, yes, because the dictatorship, which is a political problem, is sustained on an economic base which it defends, and that base is the Peruvian State, it is one of exploitation, that is what we must understand that it is a dictatorship because it defends a system of exploitation which is its base and it defends it with blood and fire. That dictatorship is directed by the big bourgeoisie and thus the problem is clear because who else directs the dictatorship in Peru, the big bourgeoisie? That is the reason why they are set up as they are.

We were asked a question, if there would not be a problem here by putting exploiters, if this would not clash with the Erfurt Programme, which is the Programme of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany of 1891 analyzed by Engels; we have re-read the Programme, or Engels’ criticism of the Erfurt Programme, and it has no contraposition with that term, why? Because what Engels criticizes in that Programme is that it says “domination of the capitalists and big landowners” and he says that an economic problem cannot be explained from a political point of view, that is what he says. To understand this, what does it mean? If one remembers what is in “Anti-Dühring” on the problem of violence, Engels himself, revised by Marx: “**There are those who make say the property of domination, that is to say of violence, consequently property is nothing but simply dispossession, seizure by force**”. Engels there, in “Anti-Dühring”, explained to us that exploitation is an economic phenomenon, that is to say social relations of exploitation and that to defend it, to maintain it, there is the State which is organized violence as Engels himself taught it; then, when he criticizes what they proposed as a project of the Erfurt Programme and they say “domination of the capitalists and big landowners”, he gives margin, consequently, that way of proposing, to derive property from violence, which is incorrect. That is the essence of the position of the just critique that Engels makes. But the problem is that he says there, in addition, he says “individual capitalists”, so he says; then Engels says that this is another error because society — he is talking about Germany — more and more has trusts, monopolies, joint stock companies and there it is not individual property and in addition, he says, individual property is also that of the small producer, consequently it leads to a second error. Another situation that could be linked to what we are discussing is what Engels says in that critique almost in the final

part, when he states that production and he says: the rest is individual and he says again that it should not be individual, the system of production sinks more and more the middle strata, the small producers, etc. Consequently, what Engels is criticizing is to give property a root based on violence, which is Dühring's idea, which is what Dühring is criticized for.

That the national bourgeoisie or the national bourgeoisie are also exploiters, it is true, but nobody can say that the national bourgeoisie exercises dictatorship here, in Peru, today, or does it exercise it, obviously not.

Consequently point 1 of the Programme proposed in the problem of the demolition of the old State, that is to say of the Peruvian State, that is and it is specified that it is a dictatorship, it is good to point out, but that this dictatorship is of exploiters to point out the base it defends, that is what moves us. And there is no room for confusion with the national bourgeoisie, because it is not part of the dictatorship and also because the problem of the specification of the economic overthrow that we destroyed comes in the subsequent parts and was clarified in point 5; nobody could maintain that the national bourgeoisie is part of the dictatorship led by the big bourgeoisie, that is the crux of this. We do not pretend to explain an economic problem.

[...]

To point out here individual property on any side, except when we speak of the peasantry and the land which is another thing, there is therefore no form of confusion.

“2. To sweep away all imperialist oppression, mainly Yankee, and that of Soviet social-imperialism and of any imperialist power or superpower. In general to confiscate their monopolies, companies, banks and all forms of their property including the external debt.”

It is the problem of the first mountain, of imperialism, and it is well separated what is oppression because it exercises it, it oppresses us; Lenin tells us that the nations are oppressed by imperialism, these are Lenin's own words. Here we must see very clearly that imperialist oppression is mainly Yankee, but not only, it is also Soviet social-imperialism which, I repeat, is penetrating more into our country and dangerously so; and of any imperialist power or country, China for example. China is going to invest in mines, they have also discovered that they already need raw materials, it is very well then, they are already demonstrating their entrails; if this is understood, it answers that question of what is China, if this is understood, it is understood that it is China, the current China I mean. “[...] **any imperialist power or superpower**”: Japan, England, France, Spain; Why say Spain? Think about it, Spain is going to invest about

3.000.000.000 dollars in Argentina and here it also has investments: a big one, for example, is an investment in high security prisons for Peru. The problem of those markets that Mr. President is inaugurating are of Jewish capitals that could not be used because there was a difference, a dispute about their value. In other words, we do not accept any domination, any oppression, but we emphasize two: the Yankee and the Soviet, mainly the Yankee because that is the country that mainly dominates and exploits here, that imperialism.

The other part refers to the economic question. How was it proposed to **“in general confiscate their monopolies, companies, banks and all forms of their property”**, because there can be many forms, patents for example, royalties, in short, many more will be generated by international economic relations; it remains open here because it is a very clear and very broad term, a legal term already well defined since Roman times, nothing escapes this term. Why are we including the foreign debt here? Because of the importance it is taking on; the debt of the oppressed nations is fabulous and it is a blood-letting or death that this foreign debt implies, but the problem of the foreign debt can only be solved by confiscating it, denying that right, there is no other way, because it is a form of property, in this case, based on credit, that is why we are rescuing this point. The debt we have is growing every day, it must be around 17.000.000.000 dollars. That is the reason.

Point 3 refers to the second mountain, in the order of weight it has; here they are listed in the order of weight, of power they have: economic, political, military or whatever power they have. Here is the problem of:

“3. To destroy bureaucrat-capitalism, individual as well as State owned; to confiscate all their properties, goods and economic rights to benefit of New State, as well as those belonging to imperialism.”

This is the second mountain: bureaucrat-capitalism. We must destroy — destroy is a broad term — demolish it economically, politically, ideologically, as much as possible. Ideologically, for example [...] We already know well from the Chairman, that a class can lose economic and political power but maintain its ideological power, it disturbs, which is obviously a serious problem. Why do we put **“individual as well as State owned”**? Here there is not much confusion either because it speaks of bureaucrat-capitalism; we agree and we fight against saying private property and State property, because both are forms of private property: the individual is a form of private property, the State is the one managed by the State as a whole, but both are private, the old State manages this way, to put it private would be to fall into an error. “Non-State” is not very expressive for us, but there is no margin for confusion because here it is

said to destroy bureaucrat-capitalism and nothing escapes it; and after all, a society, a monopoly have individual owners, of course that is so, so we have no problems either, because — I repeat — **“bureaucrat-capitalism”** has been specified.

“[...] to confiscate all their properties, goods and economic rights to benefit the new State”. Why this? It is key to pass to the second revolution uninterruptedly. But here we have added it **“as well as those belonging to imperialism”**, not in order to reiterate, because both pass to the new State, they are the economic means for the new economy.

“4. Liquidation of semi-feudal property and everything subsisting on it, confiscating the land to give it to the peasantry, mainly poor, applying the principle of ‘Land to the tiller’.”

It refers to the third mountain. It is listed third, because that mountain is weaker, because we put **“all subsistent modality of the same”**, because it is, Lenin taught us that there are a thousand and one forms in which feudalism is clothed and others can appear or be specified: the question remains open and we do not tie our hands. That this land is confiscated is understandable, to give it to the peasantry is what he says [...]; what we emphasize is **“mainly poor”**, as that is very understandable and necessary, because read this by the peasantry, the poor will easily identify himself, he will say mainly for me, that is what we are aiming at; we could have simply put peasantry, but no, the Chairman tells us: **“At the end of the day, if we talk about peasantry, we talk about the poor”**, that tells us, remember **“A Single Spark...”**, by [...], was in Junín, the investigation.

The principle “land to the tiller” is an old principle, one that is still fully valid. Chairman Mao reiterated it in the point of the Programme when he deals with the problem of land, and this is good to emphasize because here in Peru they talk a lot of nonsense, they talk about “land and liberation”, this is not the problem, it is simply “land to the tiller”, you will have seen the Vietnam Programme, do you remember, with other words it says the same thing, both the program of ‘30 and ‘67 — the one of the South — says the same thing. It is an old situation that every democratic revolution raises; if one thinks well about this, one cannot say that the “demand of the democratic revolution is the problem of the land”, no Comrades, how could we say that, and the problem of imperialism, and the problem of bureaucrat-capitalism, that is, in the treatment of what we are seeing, I believe we are giving answers to multiple questions.

“5. Respect the property and rights of the national bourgeoisie, or middle bourgeoisie, in the countryside as well as in the city.”

Here we move on to another question; it is the problem that characterizes the democratic revolution, what classes it destroys: democratic revolution that does not respect the property and rights of the national bourgeoisie ceases to be national and becomes socialist. National or middle bourgeoisie, to make it clearer, because national is sometimes confused with native, many confuse national with native and that is an error; in the Marxist language, of Maoism, national bourgeoisie is the middle one and that occurs both in the countryside and in the city, in the countryside it is rural bourgeoisie — that once again solves the problem of the rich peasant and the entanglement we have seen here. This clarifies, makes more precise the democratic character of the revolution and at the same time reiterates what we have always maintained; they are saying that we have changed our line, that now we respect the rights of the national bourgeoisie and I ask myself, what Party document is there where we do not, [...] which one?, None; so the “wise man”, senderologist is a poor ignorant devil who only chimes according to what he is paid.

Thus, points 2, 3, 4, and 5 define, precisely the democratic character, what mountains are to be demolished, and the respect for the property and rights of the bourgeoisie. The word is also broad — respect — it does not say that we guarantee them, it does not say anything other than respect and that is how it should remain, why, because out of necessity we can restrict those rights, even today, particularly in the countryside when there is a lack of land, but that does not need to be said here, how are we going to put “I respect you, but I take away from you”, how to put it, then, Comrades; we know that because Chairman Mao himself says it.

“6. Fight for the setting-up of the People’s Republic of Peru, as a United Front of classes based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat headed by its Communist Party; as a mold for the New Democracy that carries forward a New Economy, a New Politics, and a New Culture.”

Point 6 poses the problem of the new State, the new State that we are already forging, but it is not necessary here to begin to specify “people’s committees, support bases and new democratic people’s republic in formation”, there is no need, we are setting the goal, the perspective; the other things we know, we do not need to write them in the Programme. Here the front of classes is emphasized, but its basis is emphasized — **“worker-peasant alliance”** — and the leadership of the new State we are building **“led by the proletariat”** — but not simply so, it is not enough, we must be clear: **“headed by its Communist Party”**. The Programmes that have been made do not say so, it is

convenient for us to say that; besides, a long time has passed, I believe, since the Programme of the CPCh of '28 to date, things are already more defined and especially if we are "the revolution", how do they say, "the most authentic". It is evident that "the Shining Path is the movement with the greatest total revolutionary support in the world", Aguirre, that is what comrades say and what Don Francisco Morales Bermudez, former President of Peru, Major General and other peasants say, that is what he says, "it is evident that the Shining Path is the movement with the greatest total revolutionary support in the world", that is good, that is very good, you are already understanding, you are already understanding; there is no other, Comrades, which one, which one? Get out! The M-16, the FARC, the revolution in Nicaragua, ' please! I have just read your Programme, it is very clear, isn't it, which one, then, the great revolution of Haiti of the RIM, please, it is a bad joke, or the revolution in South Africa, please! Another bad joke then, because that's how it is then, the RIM equals us with and even puts us at the tail, first is the revolution in South Africa; yes, I say, yes, for the imbeciles. They are clumsy and they are undermining the International Communist Movement (ICM), that is what is clear Comrades: to bread, bread and wine, wine, as they say. So it is convenient to specify this: it is the Communist Party, so let them know it, and we do not hesitate to say it, of course, it is necessary.

Then this **"as a mold for the New Democracy"** with the triple content, I think it clearly specifies and the affiliation with which Chairman Mao has established, with Maoism; there is its content, there is nothing more to explain in content. As a new State, everything is complete, so what is missing, what is missing, are the three issues.

"7. Develop the People's War that, through a revolutionary Army of a new type under the absolute control of the Party, destroys the old Power a piece at a time, mainly their armed forces and other repressive forces. This serves to build the New Power for the proletariat and the people."

It is how to carry out this revolution. How to do it? With the People's War, there is no other way; with what instrument, the revolutionary Army of a new type but under the absolute leadership of the Party. Again, the Party, of course, because that is how it is, so let the other classes not dream that they will have leadership in the Army, let them not dream, it is good that we are in a front of classes, but that does not mean they will command the Army; if the Party does not have absolute leadership we cannot carry forward the first revolution, culminate it properly nor pass on to the second.

What are the objectives of this People's War with this Army, to destroy by parts the old power, mainly what, its armed and repressive forces? Yes, then, we are not like Vietnam or Nicaragua, no then Comrades, we are going to demolish the army, we are not going to convert it into a "new national army", we are not for that, it is not the case of the USSR when Lenin was in power, it is not the case, it was another circumstance, another necessity.

"8. To complete the formation of the Peruvian nation, truly unifying the country to defend it from all reactionary and imperialist aggression, safeguarding the rights of the minorities."

Point 8 is about the Peruvian nation — we must pay close attention to this point. The Union of Struggle of Spain, which does not even know why it fights, says that we do not understand the national problem and we cannot understand it — it says — because Mariátegui never understood it; that is how this imbecile has the shamelessness to speak, a junta of revisionist poltroons whom the RIM consents to and calls to join together with others to form the Communist Party of Spain in an organism that is not of the RIM, whose criticisms against the Party it accepts, it accommodates, it uses. Why does it raise it like that? because the Peruvian nation is a nation in formation and that national formation is being gestated in long years, they are centuries, and it cannot be disintegrated in Quechua nation, in Aymara nation, or nations by dozens of *selvícolas*.

[...]

In formation, what corresponds is to culminate the formation of the Peruvian nation, that is either we disintegrate, or there is no Peruvian nation in the concrete. It also says, really unifying the country, because it is not unified, only we will be able to do it, both to complete the formation of the nation and to really unify the country. It also says, to defend it from all imperialist and reactionary aggression, very important; there is our "anti-patriotism". Whoever speaks of the Peruvian nation, whoever speaks of the Peruvian nation, takes it as already consecrated, as established, and in this way they are following a fascist like Victor Andres Belaunde, because he began with the refutation that the Peruvian nation already exists, in his "famous refutation" of the "Seven Essays", a refutation in dreams, an empty shell, he could never refute anything, cComrades, it has a profound content and it has reality. I reiterate: we are a nation in formation, the country is not unified, we have to unify it, what for, to defend it, we have to defend it, why? It is going to be attacked or is exposed to aggressions at different times, imperialist or reactionary.

[...]

And the final part says, safeguarding the rights of the minorities, of course, because unifying the nation, unifying the country, there are minority differences that must be safeguarded; they demand that it is necessary to satisfy; for example, are we going to prohibit the Quechua language, how are we going to do it Comrades, are we going to prohibit the Aymara language or the multitude of Selvic languages? We could not Comrades, we could not: that is what it is referring to.

That is the way in which we can see the national problem, the problem of the Peruvian nation.

Point 9 is the problem of the proletariat, yes, because it is the class whose interests we are raising and serving until the end, until it fulfills its historic goal, that is what it refers to, the proletariat.

“9. To serve the development of the Peruvian proletariat as part of the international working class, and the formation and strengthening of real Communist Parties and their unification in a revived International Communist Movement guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; all as a function of the proletariat fulfilling its great historical mission as the final class.”

We believe that this is how we should pose the problem of the proletariat, here there is no room for eight hours, unemployment, here there is no room, this is a problem of a Concrete Programme, because here we are posing the supreme interests of the class. Specifying, **“to serve the development of the Peruvian proletariat”**, of course, to develop its class consciousness, its political capacity, its capacity for leadership, that is what is meant, to give shape to its class interests, to lead, to assume power whether by leading the democratic revolution or the dictatorship of the proletariat or the cultural revolutions. That the Peruvian proletariat we conceive it as part of the international working class because it cannot separate itself from the class which is only one in the world, I reiterate.

It also says, to the formation and strengthening of real Communist Parties, of course, that is what we serve, let them jump, then; in the Programmes we have not seen it this way, and we should put this way because that is how we are, then. **“[...] their unification in a revived International Communist Movement”**, of course, that is what we serve because it is a necessity of the international proletariat, but guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; therefore it is interesting what Morales Bermudez says, there it is then, let them check, which Party raises this way, ours then and it is an obligation to do so, can we be branded as nationalists? No; I can already see the frowns of some

when they read point 8, ah, nationalism came out of them!, they will say and when they read point 9, internationalism came out of them!, that's how they will say: head butts to one side, head butts to the other, I see them, and we are going to send a lot of multivitamins, by tons, good for the liver, of course, Comrades, everyone knows how to scrub, the other thing, are principles: **“all as a function of the proletariat fulfilling its great historical mission as the final class”**, of course, what better way to serve the proletariat, could we replace it — I repeat — for eight hours? Obviously not Comrades, it is a demand, but not the supreme demand of the class.

“10. To defend the freedoms, rights, benefits, and conquests that the working class and the masses have achieved at the cost of their own blood, recognizing them and guaranteeing their authentic enforcement in a ‘Declaration of the Rights of the People’. To observe, particularly, the freedom of religious conscience, but in its widest sense, of believing as not to believe. Also to combat all arrangements harmful to the people’s interest, especially any form of unpaid work or personal burden and the overwhelming taxes imposed on the masses.”

Point 10 refers to the rights of the people, that is what it refers to, I think it is quite understandable. Let us take the fundamental: **“rights of the people”**, much is said and spread in the world about human rights, it is raised by imperialist countries, it is raised by the bourgeoisie in concrete terms, it is a bourgeois position, as Marx said, it is in *“The Holy Family”*, there I raise this problem; he said: **“To raise human rights, what is it? To raise bourgeois right, it is the position of the bourgeoisie”**; that is why Engels speaks of **“democratic rights and obligations”** and in that way, he says, the bourgeois character is removed, there is no trace of bourgeois [...], he says. Why we raise people’s rights? Because that is how Lenin taught us, he taught us that way. This is a fundamental document that the revolution, the Party in particular, will have to make.

Good. To defend the liberties, rights, benefits and conquests of the class and the masses: liberties, we understand; rights, we understand; benefits we also understand (social benefits for example) and conquests, of course, we have to end with conquests, let us suppose, the Summer timetable that the State employees have here — because its name is not State bureaucracy, it is State employees; bureaucracy is the upper layer, it is the one in charge, that is it; the others are workers but not workers, obviously — that is what it refers to. How to respect them, how to recognize them? Through the *“Declaration of the Rights of the People”*; that is why we say this is the problem of the rights of

the people, of the big bourgeois? No, of the people alone. What is the people, it is a concept that historically is defined according to the stage and the period of the revolution, it is enough to put people; the Chairman has taught us what the people are, this concept comes from Marx, from Marx comes the problem of the people.

To respect, particularly, the freedom of religious conscience, but in its full extent, both to believe and not to believe, seems to us to be very pertinent, especially if they want to oppose us with the Church, here we are not respecting or keeping the rights of the sacrosanct Roman and Japanese apostolic church, no, that is not our problem, here we are not respecting the rights of the hierarchy that is part of the oppression, as Lenin said: Army, police, judges, prisons and priests, the same thing, part of the same thing, of oppression; here what we are, and we have the obligation, is to guarantee the freedom of religious conscience and we have restricted it, it is not freedom of conscience but religious freedom, because that must be highlighted, there are those who want to believe in a potsherd or whatever, that is why, the opium of the people — Marx said it — was vented as the relations of exploitation change and the new relations of production require a long way for that. But in its full extent it implies both believing and not believing; just as some have the right not to believe, we have the right to Atheism; in other words, that is the full form of freedom of religious conscience.

Likewise, we must fight against any disposition harmful to the people's interests, because many laws, many actions are harmful to the interests and rights of the people, we must fight against them, especially — what? — any form of unpaid work or personal burden; unpaid work cannot be allowed and why do we say personal burden, because it is very broad. The personal burden is strictly of feudal root, the bourgeoisie itself only accepts two personal burdens: 1) taxes and 2) compulsory military service, it accepts nothing else; how many personal burdens can they invent? Many, then it is enough to put personal burden, broad. And the burdensome taxes that fall on the masses, yes; we have not wanted to put, yet, the problem of progressive taxes which is the thesis of Marx, that is the thesis of Engels, it is the thesis of Lenin, it is the thesis of the Chairman, that is a question of specifying, because if there are no taxes the State cannot be economically solvent, but it has to be progressive and it is specified in many ways; we must remember, in Russia Lenin showed various forms according to the needs of the revolution, it is better to leave it open.

Then we enter in point 11 to the protection of special layers of the population by special condition that he has them. Hence we put:

“11. Real equality for women [...]”

Only the revolution alone will give it, understood, then we are for the emancipation of women but that is part of the whole revolution and it is part of the emancipation of the proletariat; therefore, Comrades, wait until Communism, it will undoubtedly come, that is what the thesis says, it is no barbarity, according to Marxism the emancipation of women is part of the emancipation of the proletariat, that is when there will be full equality before life, they will be leaps that will be made; That is how it is, desire is one thing, reality is another, the other is not seeing reality, that is what Marxism says, a decree is not enough, we could give a decree, right? Full legal equality, equality before life, but it is not going to be true, Comrades, that is the fact. Lenin distinguished that well, he said: **“One thing is equality before the law, to guarantee the equality of man and woman, and another thing equality before life”**, of course and from there he said that the problem is that women fight for their own emancipation and they can only do it within the emancipation of the proletariat, there is no other way to do it.

“[...] a better future for the youth [...]”

Obvious. What, then, is the future for the youth in this rotten society?

“[...] protection for the mothers and the children [...]”

Understandable, Comrades, I don't see what you are going to refute here.

“[...] respect and support for the elderly.”

Also, don't we see how they treat even the retired, even the police forces themselves, what role do the elderly play here? They also deserve respect and support.

“12. A New Culture as a combat weapon to solidify the nation, that serves the people's masses and is guided by the scientific ideology of the proletariat. Special importance to education will be given.”

Point 12 refers to the New Culture. Yes, it is the way in which we are concretizing what the Chairman says about the New Culture, that is what we are aiming at. What are we emphasizing, its condition as a weapon to concretize nationality, yes, it is indispensable. That the culture of nationality that we must shape is not the corruption of people's music as it is done in the *huaynos*, it is not that corruption, destroying precisely its deep cultural roots that will shape our nationality, we do not agree with that corruption; it is not those pantomime functions of political task that the United Left does, that is not promoting people's culture; to have *huacos* in your house is not to be nationalist, it is not to have national spirit for that reason, it is not true, to be a collector of antiques

does not necessarily express national spirit, why, do you think that Mujica Gallo has national spirit? And I think he has a very valuable historical collection, don't you think that the Osamas have a national spirit for having a very large collection of art from the Viceroyalty? No, Comrades, not that, Comrades. We must generate a New Culture to make nationality concrete, it is necessary because we are a nation in formation.

That serves the popular masses and is guided by the scientific ideology of the proletariat. Why here we have called it scientific, to emphasize that character that has to go against superstition, false ideologies, against idealism. Because we are not considering a proletarian culture, that corresponds to the second moment; we are talking about a national culture (consequently anti-imperialist), democratic (therefore anti-feudal, it is expressed in that it serves the people's masses) and cannot, that culture, but be guided by the ideology of the proletariat that we have said that this ideology is scientific, and here it corresponds to bring out that character for the above mentioned: it goes against superstition, with all that is putrefied in ideology because if it does not have that guide there is no New Culture. Compare it with that of Vietnam: "national, democratic", but what ideology guides it, it does not say.

Give special importance to education, understandable I think. It will be necessary to explain, express, concretize how this education is, because now everybody is in the new education and they are repeating a set of imperialist theses or catholic criteria, rotten of the church like the famous "conscientization", Frere's stupidity; what was that based on? On Christian imperialism, that thesis is of feudal origin, we are not going to allow that, the new education is well qualified, well specified: education and work, that is the thesis of Marxism, that is the thesis of Marx, that is what we will have to forge.

"13. To support the struggles of the international proletariat, of the oppressed nations, and of the peoples of the world; fighting against the superpowers, the United States and Soviet Union, imperialism in general, and international reaction and revisionism of all types, conceiving the Peruvian Revolution as part of the Proletarian World Revolution."

Here is expressed the connection of proletarian internationalism, serving the World Revolution; we believe it is understandable, it is enough to highlight the parts separated by semi-colons. Struggles of the international proletariat, the class, the oppressed nations and the peoples of the world, this is how it has to be. Against the superpowers, because it is the period in which we are, the United States and the Soviet Union, that is why it must be emphasized; imperialism in general, of course, whatever imperialism it may be: the Japanese

because they consider it. The Japanese imperialists consider that the Andean Pact area is a complement to their economy, are their Japanese companies not involved everywhere, there are Teng's sons, now they are going to invest as well; the French, not to mention the Germans are scrubbing and scrubbing all the time; all that research, that research, who pays for it, well, imperialism, particularly the Europeans, that is where the senderologists like Gonzales come from. International reaction — of course — and revisionism of all kinds, superpowers, half-powers, impotent or whatever, of all kinds. Conceiving the Peruvian Revolution as part of the Proletarian World Revolution.

Point 14 is the problem of the revolution as a unity, of its stages and its continuation and culmination, that is very necessary, I believe the debate shows it:

“14. To struggle tenaciously and heroically for the complete victory of the democratic revolution nationwide and after completing this stage, at once, without pause, to begin the socialist revolution so that, together with the international proletariat, the oppressed nations and the peoples of the world, through cultural revolutions, will continue the march of humanity towards its final goal, Communism.”

I think it is extremely necessary, mainly today, to emphasize the permanent revolution; to emphasize, in second place, the complete and utter triumph of the democratic revolution in the whole country, they will not even take away a little piece from us, that generates serious problems; to move on to socialism for and together with the international proletariat, the oppressed nations and the peoples of the world, through cultural revolutions, to continue the march of humanity towards the final goal, Communism — why do we say continue the march of humanity? Because we enter together or nobody enters at all.

Both points 13 and 14 express the link between the Peruvian Revolution and the World Revolution, an unavoidable interrelation not only on principle, but even the triumph of the democratic revolution — as the Chairman conceived — has to do with the world situation, with the world circumstances, and the development of the revolution requires that the revolution takes place in other countries, in other nations, and together we fight for Communism and enter it.

Those are the issues of the Program. Then it says:

“But considering that the democratic revolution in the country crosses a period characterized by:

- 1) Deepening of the general crisis of Peruvian society, mainly of bureaucrat-capitalism;
- 2) Greater reactionarization of the State, today with an Aprista government, fascist and corporativist, headed by the genocidal García Pérez;
- 3) Sharpening of the class struggle, with the masses accepting more and more the need for combating and resisting;
- 4) The People's War developing vigorously and growing; and,
- 5) The people's need for a People's Republic built according to the principles of New Democracy."

Why raise this issue? Chairman Mao tells us: **"We must have a General Programme, but according to the period of the revolution we must establish a Concrete Programme"**; consequently, we must specify the period and 5 notes are proposed to characterize it. You will remember — we said — there is a relation between characteristics 1 and 3, between 2 and 4, because they form contradictions — you will remember — and all these contradictions lead to point 5: **"The people's need for a People's Republic built according to the principles of New Democracy."** The period is indispensable to specify it, without it there is no Concrete Programme; I think that will be that already dealt with even in the preparatory report, Comrades, we do not need to endorse.

"We must apply a Concrete Programme [...]" [...] From the beginning what have we told you, it is a Concrete Programme **"for this period, with the following specific objectives"**. We have proposed that this Concrete Programme be established, sanctioned after the debate of the General Programme and of the period in order to have contributions that specify the application of the problems according to the conditions of the Regions or Zones; that is why here we put Concrete Programme, suspensive points.

We have proposed that the Statutes be seen later, because it will be the strictly organizational part, even though it will also have to start from affirmations of principle, obviously; that is why we put suspensive dots [...].

Well Comrades, [...]: **"We must apply a Concrete Programme"** and then, under that title: Concrete Programme, is that clear, Comrades? I think we all understand [...].

Well, that's all we can say about Programme and Statutes.

WORLD REVOLUTION – STRATEGY AND TACTICS

1988

“Chairman Mao again emphasizes the importance of the world revolution as a unity.”

“Weight of the masses, oppressed nations, decomposition of imperialism, where does it all lead? Three worlds are delineated. Yes, Chairman Mao Tse-tung’s thesis; it has nothing to do with the rotten, revisionist theory of Teng’s three worlds.”

Why? Marx has already told us this problem, that the world revolution must be conceived as unity; more, he insisted that Communism is entered together, implying that we must all carry out revolution- by this I do not mean to imply that he said in unison. I think there are many things about this that we can imagine, but they are situations, those related to Communism, that we are not able to specify. Why? We must always keep in mind what Engels said, he tells us, when he spoke in “Anti-Dühring”, “we can think many things about how Communism is going to be and say such a thing is going to be ‘a’, such a thing is going to be ‘b’, such a thing is going to be ‘c’, but rest assured that when Communism arrives it will shape its realities and it will not give a damn about everything we have thought”, this is how he told us. On this we must seriously reflect on what Engels says. Why? Because it [Communism] is a world without classes and we move in a world of classes, do you understand what that implies? Our mind is organized according to classes and thinks within the framework of class society, it does not fit, we do not understand, we cannot point to, we cannot concretely specify what a world without classes will be like. Our great flags have told us signs, elements, situations, they are just and correct, but concrete things, very difficult.

Lenin had to act at a juncture in which the revolution could only be made in one country and in only one, the USSR. It is a greatness in him, to have established that thesis, to have laid the foundations for the moment to be fulfilled, and it is the merit of Stalin for having materialized it. There’s no need to be narrow minded Comrades, we must recognize. Once again, much is said about Comrade Stalin but little is understood what he has accomplished, can’t you see?

Was Lenin not willing to go and command the revolution in Germany, knowing that there was no head capable of leading it? Of course he knew perfectly well. But he came to understand that the revolution could only take place

in the USSR and that it was only possible to do that. But he never abandoned world revolution, rather he conceived the Bolshevik, Soviet revolution as part of the world revolution and that it should serve world revolution and he saw it as a nexus, therefore, to raise up the oppressed nations and unify the two great movements, this is how he thought.

Lenin says that the revolution is not going to purely and simply take place in the advanced countries, that is foolish. It must be combined with the revolution in the backward countries, because that is how imperialism will sink. He established lines, concrete lines in the long term, masterfully. If one reads Lenin carefully, one can see that he turns his eyes to the backward countries, not because he didn't want revolution within the heart of imperialism, no, that is not the problem, but rather that he sees the reality and the perspective of the world.

Chairman Mao, in another circumstance where the revolution was already developing, it passed in our opinion – what we believe – to the problem of stalemate and the question of the strategy of world revolution has entered, the strategic offensive of world revolution, that's what we believe.

So the Chairman had already foresaw all those things, therefore I believe he thought about the revolution as a unity. Hence, he comes to propose China as the base to serve world revolution, hence his grand effort to train cadres to wage people's war, mainly in backward countries. And he reiterates that “we all enter Communism or no one enters”, it is a quote from the Chairman, he reaffirms it himself. But within the reaffirmation, within him it is already a reality that is palpitating, it is a concrete perspective that is given, that is opened, that is what the Chairman has.

Revolution is the Main Trend as the Decomposition of Imperialism is Greater Every Day

For this, where does Chairman Mao start?: “**Revolution is the main trend as the decomposition of imperialism is greater every day, the role of the most immense masses year after year that make and will make felt its irrepressible transforming force**” and in the great truth, reiterated by him, that “**we all enter communism or no one enters**”; That is why he focuses again on seeing the world revolution as a unity, but I insist, already feasible, as a concrete perspective.

In Marx it is as a principle and in Lenin as a necessity to promote it: for the Chairman, the problem is that this situation has already opened up and within that we are going to develop it.

The revolution, the main trend in history, yes. It is the main trend in the world, historically and politically. This is what we must emphasize, that it's not simply that it is the historical perspective but that it is political, it is already the order of the day, that is, and that is why we have to struggle. This is combined with the period of 50 to 100 years, if not then why did the Chairman ask us? A masterful calculation: 50 to 100 years, because in that period imperialism and reaction must be wiped from the face of the earth and that is then the world revolution.

Atomic War — What to Oppose Atomic War With? Oppose it with People's War

It is “the period that begins to fight against Yankee imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, paper tigers that contend for world hegemony”, of course, another key question from the Chairman.

It is well arranged, the military principle is well arranged: world revolution, trend, weight of the masses, the period of 50 to 100 years. He is specifying and it is masterful. It is unfortunate that he is not seen in that way. Hegemony, of course, two then, there are two who can develop or unravel a world war – Yankee imperialism or Soviet social imperialism – paper tigers says the Chairman! They are not to be feared, they can be pierced through! This is how he taught, a quote from the Chairman.

“Atomic war”. What to oppose atomic war with?: “**First it must be condemned and then prepared in advance to be opposed with People's War.**” Everything that the Chairman has proposed is balanced.

The Oppressed Nations

Now, the problem of the oppressed nations. Are they or are they not the ones that house the immense masses of the Earth? 2/3 or 70%, immense masses more or less in quantity. At the end of the day, I think that is not the problem because some situations can change, yes, because the revolution is not straight, it is in zigzags, but that does not deny that the oppressed nations hold the immense masses of the Earth. Moreover, the growth of the masses is immensely greater than the increase of the oppressors in the oppressing nations, of the oppressive countries, of imperialisms, even considering that they themselves oppress their own peoples. Just look at the growth rates, which is 70% of new children born in the backward world and that will continue to increase more and more. For me, in good time, of course, because the weight of the masses in history has begun to express itself more and more and that is fundamental, if the masses make history and this is a very great truth, then the

weight of the masses will decide the revolution in the world. And where is that weight, then? In the oppressed nations. There I don't think there is much to discuss, if these are material realities, facts; do we close our eyes? That would be foolish.

The Economic and Political Relations that are Unfolding by the Process of the Decomposition of Imperialism

“As well as the economic and political relations that are developing due to the decomposition of imperialism.” Very important. One of the problems we have had is how to define this moment, this period in which we are developing. Where have we found the question? In the Chairman himself — decomposition of imperialism is greater every day — within his own positions, he raises this. Who can deny the greater decomposition of imperialism every day, is it not sinking more and more? It is decomposing, it is rotting. If some can claim that they produce more, what the hell does it matter, is that the problem? On the contrary, if they produce more, what they are showing is that there are all the means to satisfy basic needs.

Already in the 2nd World War, what was said at the end of it? It would be enough to work four hours and all the fundamental needs of humanity could be satisfied. Well, the jump that has been made from 1950 to 1975 has doubled production from 900 to 50 and production from 900 to 50 is equal to all of humanity since its inception, can you imagine? That is showing us that the times of the expropriation of the exploiters is approaching and they are going to be destroyed, that is why they are decomposing.

Some say Lenin was wrong because we see that they have more rockets, more weapons, but is that not an expression of weakness throughout the world? Throughout history it has always been an expression of weakness. What Marxism says is that imperialism slows down all the capacity of the existing means of production, it does not say that they do not produce. That's what Hoxha never understood in his miserable life. They have confused and some repeat, they don't understand the problem, I think that's it. It is the decomposition of imperialism and its increasing artillery, a sign of weakness and not of strength. Review any history or look at history thoroughly and it will be understood, any military history proves it.

Weight of the masses, oppressed nations, decomposition of imperialism, where does all this lead? Three worlds are delineated. Yes, Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thesis; it has nothing to do with the rotten, revisionist theory of

Teng's three worlds which is something else because it is a front to serve imperialism, to side with the superpowers, or to want to be a power in turn which it is already dreaming of.

Why does (revisionist China) want to arm itself to the teeth, why does it want to be a military power? It can already be seen, the same path! Not being able to develop and strengthen the economic force because they are restoring capitalism more and more, now they want to use the immense masses, of billions of men, as cannon fodder, they want to use it by enhancing military power to become a power and fight for world domination, also scheming like others like Germany, like Japan, that from the clash of the two superpowers must emerge another power or another dominant superpower. Wasn't that Japan's nefarious bastard dream of the 1930s, isn't it Germany's black dream, isn't Teng's black dream?

And it is not a problem of tactics, which Avakian even goes as far to say "I think it is a situation of a use of tactics", that seems stupid to me. It is a strategy, it is a global understanding of where the weight of the masses are on earth, it is the problem of the relations between imperialism and oppressed nations, that is the problem. It is the problem that can only be understood in the current international situation starting from the international economic relations of imperialism, that is Lenin's thesis. But – when he raises and says, what is the essence of my position? It is that there are oppressive nations, or he says: "oppressive peoples, oppressed peoples", well some do not like it to be peoples, go and argue with Lenin, he has laid it out that way, he put it that way – but then he specifies it himself and it has already remained as imperialists and oppressed nations.

It also seems to me that it would be a mistake to say Lenin was wrong. Why, do we know what he meant? I believe that many things comrades, in Marx, in Lenin, in the Chairman, we do not understand, I believe. One must be sincere, every time one returns and picks up a text from any of those greats, one finds new things, or is it not so? It seems to me a stupid vanity to believe that we already understand everything. I say to myself, do we understand everything Lenin said? I don't think so. Everything the Chairman has said? It seems to me that it is not necessary to have bastard arrogance, they are arrogant of flying horses, of people who believe that genius comes from heaven. We have to understand many things, there are many things to comprehend.

Chairman Mao Lays the Foundation for Developing the Strategy and Tactics of World Revolution

It seems to us that the Chairman is thus laying the foundations for developing the strategy and tactics of World Revolution and this is obviously necessary. But there we have a problem, do we know everything that the Chairman has said, all his writings, could the Chairman's debates on how to conceive and make revolution be aired and published, could he proclaim it, do you think he could? How is he going to propose? What he could propose are the political criteria of orientation, other debates had to be reserved for a while, it seems to me that this is elementary to understand.

For the rest, are there witnesses? I believe that there are and they exist because there is a meeting of the Chairman with Japanese where he tells them: "There is a first world that is the United States and the Soviet Union, there is a second world, Japan for example and there is a third where there is China." These men exist, they have not died, they are witnesses to what the Chairman has said. Why come then to say that it is not a thesis of the Chairman and that it is an erroneous thesis, have they been able to demonstrate such?

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, dared years ago to throw itself against the three worlds and what did it have to do? First, throw themselves against Chairman Mao based on the supposed Avakianite criteria- of Avakian. He had to throw himself against what? Against the thesis of the Chairman that in the year 1946 between the USSR and the United States there is an intermediate band, an intermediate strip in which there were capitalist countries, even imperialist countries could occur and oppressed nations, he had to go against that. Could it be denied that there was in 1946, at the end of the war with the hegemony of the United States, that there was an intermediate strip?

That is stupid, it is not seeing reality, that is not knowing history, you cannot judge 1946 by 1988. And you cannot see that this happened? Of course, it happened that way, there was a strip. If he talks so much that the war is approaching, the world war, precisely why is it? Because that strip is covered, it is already taken over, and there is the risk they have to face.

But Comrades, for years you have been using the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, we must stop the war, well where the hell is the war? The world war, where is it? Why don't they propose instead to develop the democratic revolution, socialist revolution, to define Maoism, because they don't propose that, why do they not propose opposing it with the People's War and waging World People's War against the world war that they cackle about so much, or is it that they hope that the world war will lead to the revolution? No Comrades, the only thing the world war will be able to do is stir the revolution, but the triumph does not come from the 3rd World War, it comes from

the People's War in which we free ourselves, which liberates the Communists and peoples of the earth, from there it will come, in great periods of decades and waves. Those who do not understand this have not read history, nor have had the pleasure of passing high school.

We consider that all this has been said by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, of course he had to see it, even for the third world. Mr. Snow in an interview from 1970 asked the Chairman: "What do you think of the third world, Chairman?" And he responded with that way that he had, smiling, "that which concerns your president so much", he did not say more, there it was, of course there it was, it did not go any further. But at the United Nations, Chiao Kuan-hua reported that the Chairman proposed "three worlds are delineated", those are the words verbatim, in quotation marks, those are the Chairman's words.

And there are quotes, the quote from 1957 on Suez also demonstrates that the Chairman was raising and that there was this situation that the United States was different from France and England, that there were three interests and two contradictions, that was evident: Egypt, oppressed. The United States wanted to control the Suez Canal. England and France wanted to defend their interests there. That is evident: could the power of the United States be compared with that of France and England? Obviously, England is at the tail end of the United States, France is the one that later, today, is developing as a power with its own atomic weapon but 1957 was not like that and was the problem of De Gaulle.

Well, the Chairman then has given us a whole vision of world revolution, he has raised key questions, milestones and he has raised strategy and tactics of the world revolution that unfortunately is not known. It can be said, then how it is affirmed, Comrades, it is enough to grasp such and such elements for one to see that he speaks of revolution as a unity, why does he speak of Communism, why does he speak of 50 to 100 years, why is a new period proposed? Why does it arise that war must be fought with the People's War, why do we talk about it, why does the weight of the third world, the oppressed nations, be proposed, why does it propose "three worlds are delineated"? (here is the Maoist synthesis on World Revolution, our note). I think one cannot be so foolish to simply say: glass, ashtray, glasses and it's over, one must say objects, admitting; so you have to generalize, think what are they then, where does that lead, instruments for the use of a human being, you have to draw the conclusion; and why don't they want to draw them? Because it collides and they want to propose a strategy totally out of square from Marxism-Leninism, mainly Maoism, that is.

THE 2nd WORLD WAR IS A TRANSCENDENTAL FACT IN WORLD HISTORY

1988-1989

The 2nd World War is an event of transcendence in the history of the world, it strictly began in 1939 and ended in 1945 – sorry if I enter these expressions, I think it is necessary to at least remember them, because sometimes I think that some Comrades may not know; if I am wrong, it is preferable to take the risk than to not know. It is a world war in which on the one hand there is imperialist robbery, the dispute for world hegemony that Germany demanded for itself under Hitler; but on the other hand it is the defense of socialism and development of the revolution, yes, it is very clear and correct that the war then waged by the USSR was a great patriotic war. I insist, sometimes comrades, we fight revisionism implacably and we already want to forget certain things; it was a just war of defense, a great patriotic war, that's how it was defined with all correctness, that's why; and the development of the world revolution because in addition to that glorious heroic defense that cost the USSR 20.000.000 men, we have an anti-imperialist struggle that will unfold in oppressed nations, mainly in China. And why do we say mainly in China? It is good to remember that in China 60% of the Japanese army was retained for a long time; that is why we do not agree when simply talking about the western front, the eastern front, but taking everything as what was fought in Europe, and seeing the problem of the east, which is a great fighting front and a great revolutionary front, it is wrong, in our opinion, when it is tried to reduce it to the action of western imperialists and mainly the United States, this has not been the case. It is the great war of resistance of oppressed nations, like China, like Korea, like Burma, like Indonesia, the Philippines, etc., where precisely the imperialists fled like rats and it was the people of those nations who took up arms; those who were lucky enough to have a Communist Party triumphed and advanced and those who did not, at least in a transitional way escaped being colonies, for example Indonesia, which, as a result of that war, ceased to be a colony of the Netherlands.

In that war there was a sinister plan: the crusade against the USSR, and I underline the word crusade because of its medieval roots that clearly expresses its reactionary heart and because that is how it was raised by Hitler himself, as an anti-Bolshevik crusade, because the black dream they had it was to sweep the USSR off the face of the Earth; futile, a dream of glass, it crashed against

the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the leadership of the Party and of Comrade Stalin, of the Russian proletariat, of the Russian people. Comrades, heroic pages!: Stalingrad, the greatest warfare in cities, warfare in the streets, the one that generates the most deaths. There they fought not only house by house but room by room; they are chapters that have shook the world.

There, too, the dirty, devious game of the imperialist allies has been clearly seen: the United States, England, I am not talking about France because it was occupied — and it was in 18 days — devious that delayed the opening of the invasion of Europe by the North to strike at the heart of Germany, looking for fascist Germany to defeat the USSR. We all know, and it must be remembered, Comrades, that the fascist offensive led by the Nazis to which the Italian fascists, the Franco Spanish fascists contributed and used all the economic power of the subjugated Europe, launched a million and a half men, the cream of the crop of the German army, 75% of its air force, penetrated. But Comrade Stalin had wisely handled diplomacy greatly and with subtlety — these are things that — forgetting the German-Soviet pact was necessary — some say, but that did not save the USSR from the invasion, they do not know what they are talking about, it was one thing to buy time and another thing was that Germany would necessarily hit the USSR, reason: it could not continue advancing in the West with a powerful enemy at its back and with a fierce and very rich land of fabulous potential; yes, Comrades, that must be recognized, we must understand reality as it is because that is how we even understand what these social-imperialists and a population of more than 200.000.000 are based on today, that was inevitable.

There it is necessary to emphasize the sagacity and penetration of the Soviet intelligence service, that was intelligence service! Which they came to know on the day of the invasion; they say that it was of no use — I think these are stupid belches. What could Russia do in the face of such an attack, apply a strategic defense and that is what was done — we as Communists and already managing a People's War understand that it is a strategic defensive — and that was what was done, together with scorched earth, to leave nothing, bare earth; and they had the audacity, the high decision to blow up monumental works like that famous dam that connects the Volga with the Don that cost so many years of effort, it was blown up! The Germans never dreamed, they thought that this work would not be blown up because it was too important and it had cost a lot of effort. Comrades, the dictatorship of the proletariat was at stake, the revolution was at stake, we cannot waste time nor can we simply allow ourselves to

be hindered as Chairman Mao says, by defending inches of land, or pots; that's how we are, then, the Communists.

They crashed at the gates of Leningrad, at the gates of Moscow, and at Stalingrad; but not only was scorched earth left behind, guerrillas and even individual men were left with a good rifle and a good amount of ammunition and their vodka for the cold, and to annihilate one of those, the Germans had to lose 40 men, that is the average Comrades. It was not therefore easy as the Germans believed; think, comrades, that this offensive is a high-quality military plan, thus, the highest and most enlightened German military leaders drew up that plan and the German school has a tradition of war many times proven: in three months they were going to conquer the USSR, in three months.

Comrade Stalin's foresight had already taken measures since the thirties when there is the great transformation of the field and the industry, they had already transferred factories beyond the Urals, even foreseeing the possibility of leaving even Moscow, because it is true, everything was ready in case they could not ultimately defend Moscow, even if that was the decision taken, it was already planned to move the leadership and the center to the Urals; thus, the first thing that was done was to take measures for the transfer of Lenin because he could not fall into the dirty hands of the miserable children of hell, he could not fall. But the order, what was it then, Comrades? After they had penetrated to the aforementioned doors, the order was not to go back any further! You will say, and how were those plans to go to the Urals? Comrades, there is always a plan in case it fails, you never make a single plan, that is intoned, you have plans for various circumstances and even extreme ones. It is very memorable and must always be highlighted as November 7th, anniversary of the revolution, they had nowhere to celebrate it and it was already considered impossible to fulfill it; Comrade Stalin said: "to the station!", "but there is no platform, there are no seats", Comrade Stalin stood on a drawer and gave the speech celebrating the revolution and said: "How many were we when we conquered power, what strength did we have when we rejected the immediate imperialist aggression to the October Revolution? Few and weak! Compared to what we are today, therefore they will not defeat us, we will crush them! And we will annihilate the beast in its own den, in Berlin", did he say that? Comrades, these are things that one must remember, just like that, Comrade Stalin cannot be prosecuted, that is why the Party says we must see the 2nd World War.

It is well known how after that came the great resistance, the breakdown of the German lines, the pocket of Stalingrad where the commanders (Germans asked Hitler for authorization to capitulate) but Hitler here, he told

them, the Aryans do not retreat, the Aryans they cannot be defeated by barbarians, by Mongols, by inferiors yes, but those inferiors, barbarians, Mongols, hunted them like rats and had to surrender.

It is good to always reiterate this: Stalin, a war manager with skill and wisdom, always had the moral element in mind and made all the defeated, surrendered Nazis parade and throw their flags, their eagles, their swastikas at the foot of the Lenin mausoleum; not only a great military defeat, a great moral defeat! Nazi arrogance, pride had been sunk in the mud and trampled on, it was the greatest moral blow they received! That was the beginning of the breakdown of the Nazi army. The other resistance of the 300.000 of the heroic race that would prevent the access of the Russians to Germany, the Soviet offensive of the Red Army made it blow up into a thousand pieces and blew up 300.000 more men; Germany was undone, of course, Comrades. That is when the imperialist Westerners rush to land in Normandy why? Because the Red Army, the Communists and Communism were advancing threateningly over all of Europe, that was it; but we know well that at the beginning of May, the Red Army took over Berlin and in the Reichstag, the corporative parliament that they had, they nailed the red flag with the hammer and sickle, the photographs remain for eternal memory. Hitler committed suicide, as we well know, he was even cremated because he knew what would come if he remained, they would not forgive him; Westerners, they may have, but the USSR was not going to forgive him.

The other great front, in the East, has China as its center, where the Japanese army was mired in a sea of masses, weakened, undermined by guerrilla warfare; various oppressed nations took up arms against them; the Westerners “supported” only to later return, it is good to remember MacArthur, the best cadet that West Point has had, that is, the United States military school, one of the highest strategists that the United States has given, he had his barracks in the Philippines, what did he do? He left saying his famous phrase “I will return!” Yes, when they defeat the Japanese, that is the part that he did not say. So when did they return? When the Japanese were weakened, undermined by the fighting in China and in the various oppressed nations of the East. It is therefore the oppressed peoples who have resisted the Japanese beast that once again returns to its old ways. Think about this simply so that you can see what it has cost the United States, 100.000 soldiers, it is all that the 2nd World War has cost, most of them killed in the East, you see, and before the fear that having concluded the war on the European western front, and as the agreements said, the USSR would have to turn its front against Japan, before the fear

that the Red Army would expand, then they had to use the atomic bomb; yes, it is clear how politics direct the war, the Japanese were going to be crushed, they could not resist, justifications that they want to give us today are justifications.

That great event of the 2nd World War shook the world already marked to men and gave good results; not everywhere yes, but it even gave mediated fruits, for example, France and Italy, reason: revisionists, allowed triumph to be snatched from them, the fruits of victory having guerrillas of 500.000 men, 300.000 men, forged in that heroic resistance of the class and the European people that must also be taken into account. Thus, the 2nd World War is an event of great significance. The prestige of the USSR rose highly on Earth, just look at the newspapers of the time, you of course were not born yet, that is the advantage of being older; I remember, Comrades, when the victory, yes, I was in the Callao, the port that you know, just here, right? How the sirens of factories and ships sounded when Germany surrendered! Because the war was already won there, the other thing was to finish it, it was a worldwide hubbub, as I also remember, as if I saw it today, how the pages of the newspapers were already raising the atomic bomb like a stick to scare the fearful wondering: there is a risk of disintegration, the earth will disintegrate? It is silly because if there had been so much risk, would scientists have dropped the atomic bomb? It makes no sense, that is not seeing the political essence that directs the war, the weapons are used based on political objectives; a bomb killed a whopping 80.000 people in Hiroshima; Nagasaki was 145.000 and yet Hiroshima is celebrated or remembered far more because it was the first time, but in Nagasaki there were 145.000, more, these are facts, then, of transcendence that are shaping the minds of people in those noisy times.

BARRICADES, DETACHMENTS AND PEOPLE'S WAR

1988-1989

Engels summarized of the struggle of the proletariat and came to the conclusion that the barricade has a problem: being stationary, and said that the proletariat would have to find new military forms.

It was Lenin who embodied this 1) with Party, 2) with mass organizations, 3) great strategic vision: to use the conjuncture with great vision, 4) a plan of insurrection and formed a Military Center with members of the Central Committee, there was Stalin, 5) he planned how to take the city and for that he embodied the detachments, first armed detachments without weapons to lead the crowd, called to conquer weapons and to be trained. Thus he found the organic forms: the detachments and a great plan to take the city in 24 hours. He formed the Red Guard. Lenin thought that then he would have to go from the city to the countryside, he foresaw that the Whites would rise up and he foresaw that the imperialists would rush to destroy the New Power. Lenin was a man of very long and penetrating vision. The other step has already been taken by Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao establishes the military theory of the proletariat: the People's War, which can and must be applied anywhere, the problem is to take into account the character of the revolution. If you go to Chairman Mao, there are laws, principles, norms, which must be specified in each country. To focus on the Party, to sustain the main character of the People's War as forms of struggle leads us to apply the principle that to focus on the war as the main character is good, is Marxist, as Chairman Mao says.

REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE

At the Enlarged National Conference of '79, the Party analyzed revolutionary violence from Marx, going through Lenin to Chairman Mao, reaching the conclusion that Chairman Mao Tse-tung has provided us for the first time with the true and complete military theories of the proletariat.

Taking into account the international class struggle, the class struggle in this country and the need to combat and sweep away revisionism and any position of bourgeois pacifism, we must raise, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, taking revolutionary violence as a key issue,

why? Because in the country and at world level they try to sweep away and deny revolutionary violence as well as the dictatorship of the proletariat; these are things that as Communists we should not consent to, the problem is revolutionary violence, which is nothing but the continuation of the class struggle with weapons in hand; the problem is the People's War, to destroy the old order and build the New Power, to shape it as the People's Republic of Peru and, in perspective, to concretize the dictatorship of the proletariat to serve the advance of the World Revolution.

[...]

THE PROBLEM OF MASSES, DAILY DEMANDS AND PEOPLE'S WAR¹⁰

1988-1989

BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION

Think about these questions to read the document.

The question is how it is conceived and how it is handled.

The question is that we must see according to the conditions and the necessity [...]; if the Party does not begin to see and to demonstrate through deeds that it serves the masses and that it can lead in its struggles, how will they trust that we will emancipate the people?

The problem is whether what is done in fact serves the principles and the war, if not, then we correct and rethink it.

Why do we go to the shanty towns (to the masses)? We gain the contingent for the war and the mass tells us, what do I do now? if we say I am not in charge of that, the mass will tell us, how is this comrade! Why did you come! We have to worry about all these things and have to understand how we can resolve them and how to resolve definitely, that is, the problem is to break the vicious cycle.

THE PROBLEM OF MASSES, DAILY DEMANDS AND PEOPLE'S WAR

This relationship has to do with the united front to conquer power. What does the communiqué for the masses of the shanty towns state to us? Wage and salary increases, that's good. Do we have to fight for that? Of course, how can we not fight for that! Discussing that we have to fight for salaries doesn't make sense, however, how would we do guerrilla war on the union level,

¹⁰ From the document of the 3rd Plenum of the 1st Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru: "Meeting With the Committee of the Peru People's Aid".

how would we prepare the class for the conquest of power? How would we make new unions, creating class union or readjusting others?

Here the problem of the People's Cantines and Glass of Milk, food subsidies is posed to us. Are we fighting for subsidies? Of course we are fighting for subsidies! If we in the New State put subsidies in place because we want food products to be cheap and same price everywhere, how can that be bad, the matter is that we with the New State will be able to implement it, but for now, while and where we still do not have the New Power, we fight for that and as far as possible we uproot it. The question of the People's Canteens and the Glass of Milk are apparatuses that we have not created, but they exist, the government is disregarding them, revisionism can no longer ride on the backs the masses as before, and society is plunged, without exaggeration, into a crisis that is worse than that of the famous great crisis of the 1930s, in the world, so for the masses today it is a much more pressing need than yesterday and that is why they are demanding it, even more so they are demanding the Party to lead them to obtain even what little they had yesterday, besides they know that we are not leading them to vote for "a" or "b" but to take in their hands what belongs to them, which means to uproot it with struggle and with People's War, they demand it, then, because it is a benefit for their scarce alimentation, a glass of milk serves the children, if not, why do the masses organize to obtain and prepare it? Why do they make People's Canteens? Because they need them, additionally it is a development from the "common pot" that the proletariat has always organized in its strikes. So it makes sense, that's why they are putting forward these demands to us. We insist on the fact that the question is to link the struggle for the daily demands to the functions of power, and on the other hand that these organisms have been created by this or that revisionist or reactionary apparatus, first that is false and second that they have been mounted on the needs of the masses to traffic with their interests and to ride on their backs, to use them in their electoral pursuits, in their parliamentary cretinism and above all to contain their explosiveness and to sustain the order, not to educate the masses to destroy the order and to conquer the power that belongs to them through war.

It says: Health Center, is it something they feel? of course they feel it; [...] there are problems of water, drainage, electrification, reduction of the contingency fund, they are problems derived from the needs of the neighborhoods and the shanty towns, they raise therefore what they need: execution of works of electrification, reservoirs, that Sedapal (the water company for Lima) complies, Should one ask Sedapal to comply? How can one not ask? I will not pay

the contribution of the fund for extensions to facilities, etc., here we see specific claims of the shanty towns;

It goes on: "Free water", this seems to us like a good campaign, that's what we have raised: to demand free water, to demand that the militias bring water, instead of repressing, that they invest their effort and money, to wear them out more, but the water is distributed by us, the masses themselves because it is part of their rights, not a gift, that's why they pay so many taxes to the State and the Municipality, so the municipality, what the hell is it for? At the same time unmasking that what the *cachacos* (the reactionary army) are doing today is nothing but the so-called "civic action" that has a counter-revolutionary character, part of the so-called Yankee low-intensity strategy, which is eminently a military, repressive action, aimed at forming informants, agents of a *so*[the monetary unit of the country at that time, our note], which aims to annihilate leaders, cadres, militants, fighters or supporters in order to separate the guerrilla from the masses, to annihilate the People's War; not to accept anything in return; that their action is reduced to handing over food to the mass organizations, is an occasion to create new organisms, the Committees of Leaders, Committees of Struggle or Committees of Distribution, that they distribute it, that the organized masses should do it, we educate the masses in the tactics, aiming at the poorest, those who need it most, conjuring up benefits for a few or their agents. This is not in opposition to the actions of assaults on food wagons, whether they are from major traders nor to our ambushing the military distribution trucks.

These are necessities of the masses, if not, why are they being raised by the masses? "Public cleaning" how can this be wrong? it's good, because of the garbage accumulated in the streets many children and old people get sick, cholera is produced, etc.; "against the oppressive municipal taxes", to the Cisa (a municipal gabelle, our note) the so-called informals, the street vendors pay more money than all the businessmen or traders, that is raised by the deputy for Liberty (the front of the compradors led by the hack writer Vargas Llosa) who worked at the ILD, Ghersi, in the magazine *Caretas*, it is an exorbitant tax, we are against these taxes.

"No to the privatization of education", no way around it, we are for free education and how can we allow the cuts if it is part of the plan of their so-called neoliberalism, to make education more elitist, that fewer children of the people are educated and they are so blind that they do not even see what their own masters are demanding of them, that for their capitalist restructuring they require qualified labor, future scientists, managers of their economy,

specialists, if not what modernization of their State are they talking about? they want to end free education and exempt themselves from another function by placing it on the shoulders of the already agonized and hungry father of the family within the people.

There they are putting forward the necessities of the masses and necessities derived from a sharpened crisis and the hardest one in our history, how could we only put forward the conquest of power through the People's War without linking that political struggle to the struggle for their daily demands? We well know that the struggle for daily demands is one side of the coin and the other side is the war, isn't that what we said when we initiated the armed struggle? They can not be unlinked, doing so is opportunism. If the mass is not moved in search of benefits, how is it going to struggle? Doesn't Chairman Mao Tse-tung say: "Be concerned with water and salt", that's how he has taught us, that's good and it's good that it's raised in these documents.

Now, this leads to a problem: how are these things accomplished?

The central question is this: only we, the New Power, can guarantee, no one else can guarantee, only we with New Power and with the Army aiming at satisfying those needs by moving the masses, that is essentially our means, there is no other way to do it, it is the only guarantee, hence the need to fight for the establishment of the People's Republic of Peru, that this is so proved by the People's Committees in the countryside and the People's Struggle Committees in the cities, with all the complexity that this implies in a city, conscious that we have to learn every time to manage it better, but here it is being shown how the people find direct benefits, satisfaction of their elemental needs even if in small quantities, but they find even a crumb, torn from its garden by their effort, or find even a roof to shelter themselves and support, cover, protect the Party and serve the People's War, there is a small display and as power develops more rights will be guaranteed more, insisting more, only the New Power guarantees them. But in the face of the struggles for daily demands that we are seeing, fighting for salaries I think it is obvious, nobody is going to argue about it; then the debatable problem would be "People's Canteens", we were already talking about that because of these problems of the crisis the reactionaries themselves say that every economic readjustment plan they make against their inflation, is accompanied by a compensatory plan to avoid explosiveness, that's how it is, why do they want to avoid it? because we use explosiveness. The concrete fact is that there is this objective reality, it is a necessity, so our problem is that just as reaction wants to utilize it and utilizes it, we have to utilize it to develop the struggle of the class and the people, because if we don't do that,

then we either let reaction continue to exploit and oppress them, or we let opportunism or revisionism traffic with them, so that the growing explosiveness and the minimum, basic needs of the masses are totally utilized by reaction for its own evil purposes of counter-subversive war; we cannot do that, we have to wage our struggle in all kinds of organisms, in yellow organisms, in gray organisms. So if we go in there, for what are we going to fight? Do we tell them these things are useless, the present State cannot fulfill them, for the sake of fighting? Absurd! They would tell me then, why did you come to lead me? That's why one has to ask like this: look, when we are in power there these rights will be guaranteed, for now we fight to uproot them in a hard fight until we break the vicious cycle and this fight is not in vain but rather it forges and prepares you for the new contentions, that's what we tell them, but insist that the guarantee of that is the New Power.

Then, in spite of all that we fight for, nothing is seized, or they want to control but because the proletariat refuses the control, it doesn't want to be tied down, but rather that they fulfill their obligation to contribute to their alimentary needs, of the children or pregnant women or to the people's canteen, Here I explain why they do not give him what he conquers or why they give him less and less despite so much struggle, because the old society in order to subsist reduces the capacity to work, from 100 to 20 it gives them that capacity, they relegate 80 in order to subsist. Doesn't the report by Hurtado Miller say that? That means that out of every 100 only 20 are given adequate work and 80 are condemned either not to work, to complete unemployment or to under-employment, that's the obsolete society, therefore I have the right to demand that they don't control me because of that; What I fight for is nothing but the compensation that even its own laws establish because I have nothing but labor power and I have to maintain it because they are destroying the people themselves, the creative power, the most revolutionary class because it is the productive class; the people themselves are the one that do everything, it is making the very capital of society, because those are its laws and I cannot allow it, because its plan is to physically destroy the class.

Since the reconstitution, before the beginning of the armed struggle, haven't we fought for the cost of living and didn't we raise its relation to the physical and moral destruction of the class? Didn't we expose how this system engenders abandonment of children, prostitution, delinquency? And today all that is worse, the class can't conquer and lose at the minute what it has conquered, so how are we going to teach, then? We have to see for unemployment, for wages, for the cost of living, for children, for women, for the weak part of

the class, there the reactionary class that does not even look for its children, even less for those of the people, to see for the needs of a roof to live under, especially in the cities to impulse the invasions, etc.; all this is in the document of the Preparatory Session of the 2nd Plenum when it deals with the masses, it was established there.

So, first I combat, I struggle, I use all the forms of struggle I know; secondly, but in spite of everything I do not impose, but, because of this I do not stop fighting; thirdly, but to fight I have to have a crumb in my mouth at least, why would it be bad for us to organize food production? It's easier for the masses of people to have 10 kitchens than to have 100 kitchens—you can even save up, and you can better organize to bring something to them, or to make something out of their very limited, very difficult lives; fourth, but the question is to organize and to do this on the margins of the state and against this state, to serve the revolution, to organize ourselves with class independence for the class interests of the proletariat and the people for the revolution; fifth, but as soon as we develop this, the reaction will not like it and will combat us, as soon as we develop this in a campaign against them, the repressive forces will be sent, of course because we will be undermining them more, there the question is in resisting and learning how to handle this, but if the masses see that under this struggle and this organization they satisfy some of what they need, they will have more and more just reason to combat to uproot or defend what has been conquered; sixth, it would be erroneous for us not to do that independently, not to link it to preparing the big contentions, if we didn't understand it as developing the struggle in terms of People's War to seize power, if we didn't understand with class independence, if we understood it simply so that the Old State would not have problems; Seventh, only with the New State, the People's Republic of Peru, are these rights and needs guaranteed, in the meantime it is a contention, a class struggle taking up the struggle for daily demands to promote the People's War, in the service of the People's War, fighting the Old State, struggling to wrest from it what it owes us, what it squeezes and sucks out of us like a lemon, and developing independently, with class independence, in the perspective of the revolution; otherwise it would be leaving everything in the hands of opportunists, revisionists and the government to tie them up or continue to annihilate them and undermine them physically and morally.

SYNTHESIS

The problem is how it is conceived, how it is organized, and what its goal is; again, it is an objective reality that each part, revolution and counter-revolution, is striving to lead the masses in towards their course. Doesn't the Strategic Equilibrium document, when it deals with Chairman Mao's article on democracy and war, say that? Doesn't it say there that the masses are increasingly the arena of contention and now in war with both armed sides, the question is armed contention? And isn't the contention in the mind, in the very needs of the people? The error would be in not making it clear that the solution lies in the People's Republic of Peru, that we do not link it to the People's War and that we do not develop the independent action of the people; That we did not fight the Old State and its governments, revisionism and opportunism, here would be the bad things, and that we wanted to consent that tomorrow we solve the situation of the general crisis of the Peruvian society with those crumbs or that we are going to destroy the three mountains simply with elemental questions, these forms of struggle must be to gather energies and to forge us spiritually and in the class struggle for the fight for power, thus the problem is in how it is conceived and how it is managed.

Another question is that our energies should not be unleashed and focused as the main thing on this, because between the struggle for daily demands and People's War, the People's War is main, the struggle for daily demands is means, an instrument for it, which means that if I am contending and fighting for daily demands at a moment's notice that's precisely where I support with People's War, which is what gives strength to the confrontations. But since there are new tasks and new forces are presented to me, we will draw from these new forces the elements that can fulfill these new tasks, so that we will have more contingents that will be forged for higher tasks and we ourselves will lead both, without in any way subtracting but increasing the mainities. That there is a possible deviation of right and left, in everything this is given, we have not seen the limitations? in everything this is given. The point is that we must see according to the conditions and the necessity of polarization; if the Party does not begin to see and to demonstrate through deeds that it serves the masses and that it can lead in its struggles, how will they trust that we will emancipate the people? In this way we can deal with these questions. At least in this way we can analyze, seeing the practice, we must investigate reality, see what problems there are and where it clashes, get orientations, directives, policies and then that the practice proves and guards the purity of the line, we must never unravel and always link ourselves to the war, and if we are wrong? We

have already seen, only those who do nothing are not wrong, but they already made the mistake of doing nothing, sometimes one says “but we have never done this before” oh wow! We have never done the People’s War before, only since 1980 we have done it, so that’s not a problem, “I have never done” is not a problem, the problem is whether what is done in fact serves the principle and the war, if not, then we correct and rethink it, if there is a strong contention, then it is applied as a pilot plan even if it is, there are many ways to do things, the problem is not to tie your hands and to think about what Lenin says in “New Tasks and New Forces”, because they are revolutionary, why are they asking us this? Why do we go to the shanty towns? We gain contingent for the war and the mass tell us, what do I do now? if we say I am not in charge of that, the mass will tell us, how is this comrade! Why did you come! We have to worry about all these things and make understood that we can resolve and how to resolve ultimately, that is, the problem is to break the vicious cycle.

CHINA¹¹

1989

Geographical features. 600.000 km², 1.000.000 inhabitants, the state with the largest population on Earth. From this comes the weight of China. Since the last century, China has been subjected to aggressions by Tsarist Russia, the French, the English, the Germans, the Yankees, the Japanese, etc. They all wanted to seize China because of its key position; traditional center of world contradictions. With repercussions on the whole Pacific area, great contradictions of imperialist powers were fought out there, and in the present time the contradictions between the great powers and the intermediate imperialist powers clash in China. To the south is Southeast Asia, to the north Korea, to the west Japan, which has great power dreams of ruling China. It has borders with India, another colossus with 800.000.000 inhabitants, and borders with the USSR. Consider that the Pacific basin has the largest population on earth: to the east is the U.S., California is a part of it that is undergoing great development; to the west is the USSR, there is Japan, Southeast Asia, a densely populated region, India, Indonesia, the Philippines, etc., there is also the fifth continent, Oceania.

If we look at history, we find that the Mediterranean was the sea that served the highest development of antiquity, then the Atlantic that of the modern great powers, and today it is clear that the Pacific is the ocean of the future. It is where the great powers, the great imperialist powers and the oppressed nations meet. The West is the crucial part of the basin, and that is where China is.

It is not a simple geography, which, by the way, we must also consider, because the revolution and the war are taking place on one territory. What we reject is geopolitics, which involves interpreting history starting from the geography and weight of the State. The Chinese Comrades taught us to look at geography within history and class struggle. With the victory of the Chinese Revolution led by Chairman Mao in 1949, the balance of power in the world changed and most of the world from the Pacific to the Mediterranean lived

¹¹ Excerpt from the Summary Document of the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Peru, 1989.

under socialism. That is why Chairman Mao later said that the wind of revolution was stronger than that of counter-revolution.

Something about the historical development process of the Cultural Revolution. China had the longest process of feudalism in human history and obviously has an ancient culture.

In 1949, the democratic revolution was victorious, and the construction of socialism began. By 1956, the Chinese had already laid the foundations for the construction of socialism, and from then on, intense internal struggles took place, which were resolved by arms. Chairman Mao defined China as a great unity and tried to push forward the development of the backward regions in particular. (China has about 56 nationalities, but 90% of the population is Han). In “The 10 Major Relationships”, he laid out how to conceive of and develop unity by having the regions help each other. The dictatorship, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPCh) headed by Chairman Mao, would have to lead this process. He said the north should not be dependent on the south, the center should not be the most economically developed region, and the border area with the Soviet Union should be developed.

He conceived of China as a backward country that needed at least 50 years to develop and whose social base was the peasantry, which represented 80% of the population. Knowing that the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie were producing capitalism 24 hours a day, he began a strong push to collectivize the country toward socialism, while Liu Shao-shi in particular opposed it and tried to undermine and prevent it.

Chairman Mao advocated that the problem was to develop rural areas mainly through the immense labor power of the peasantry with the aid of mechanized means of production, the latter being improved along with agriculture.

He considered agriculture as the basis and industry as the guideline. He considered how this agricultural base should develop, taking into account that it had to support a heavy industry, whose development was vital, and a light industry, which was indispensable for the supply of a range of products for daily life. Therefore, he suggested that Chinese industry should be based on two legs: agriculture and industry.

In this way, he showed his understanding of economics from the point of view of politics, and developed a political economy whose core is the relations of exploitation or production, depending on whether there is exploitative rule or whether a country is emancipating itself.

The three flags. Chairman Mao defined: 1) The basic line of building socialism: he said that under socialism the class struggle continues and may come to a head under certain circumstances, that is, the class struggle does not stop, nor is it decided who will defeat whom, whether socialism defeats capitalism or vice versa. But Chairman Mao referred to the concrete problem of building socialism in China, where it is not decided who will win, capitalism or socialism, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat, and that a long road will be necessary, and he made it clear that the establishment of the People's Republic was a first step of a long road of a thousand *li*, that is, socialism had a long process of development ahead of it. 2) The People's Commune, which represented a great leap in the development of collectivization of agriculture. The People's Commune was not only an advance in economic terms, but aimed to give the future society a social base, because it had to develop agriculture and industry, as well as create an administrative apparatus, a New Power and a militia to support it. And 3) the Great Leap Forward, which involved a great effort by the Chinese proletariat and people to develop industry, paying attention to heavy industry. Although everyone was producing steel, it was obviously of poor quality and this meant a waste of energy. Revisionists like Teng said that "it would be more practical to buy it from the foreigners". But Chairman Mao's view was not to focus on immediate economic profitability, but to keep the perspective in mind, because the Great Leap was to act as a great impetus, a great push to develop the industrial process and agriculture by means of mechanization.

Chairman Mao understood China as the base of the World Revolution. He did not say the center, but he was fully aware that China was the center of the World Revolution, because it was he who showed us that the center of the revolution had undergone a shift to the East, from France to Germany in the 19th Century, then to Russia and China in the 20th Century. But the most important thing for Chairman Mao, was that this role involved a responsibility and understood it as his task to use all the power of China to serve the world revolution, to enforce the main trend of history.

In the 1960s, under Chairman Mao, China waged a great ideological struggle against revisionism, the center of which was the USSR. And it should be remembered that Chairman Mao said that if China became revisionist, it would have to be fought, and it was from this point of view that thousands of Chinese and international cadres were educated. Chairman Mao did not accept anything that Khrushchev advocated, and the latter wanted to pressure him with a low blow by breaking the Sino-Russian economic and trade agreements

and withdrawing all economic aid. At the same time, there was a drought in China, and this intensified the intense struggle in the country. The dispute will be fought with the three flags. The problem was to achieve ideological progress. Therefore, Chairman Mao proposes an alignment campaign in the 1957 propaganda conference, which is a struggle of ideas to align with the Party line. Education also received his special attention, especially the education of the peasantry. He refers to it in the text “Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?”, which is a masterful outline of our world outlook, and argues that the education of the peasantry must start from the world outlook of the proletariat.

All this leads to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). The basic problem was the further development of socialism. Initially, it started from how to judge the problem of ideas, how the classes that lost political power retreated to the field of ideology, as in China the feudal class and the bourgeoisie had retreated in this way, as well as the imperialist ideology with which they were connected. It was a hard and intensified struggle, and as always, the revisionist right acted from ambush. For example, Peng Chen, an ossified revisionist who is still alive, with the permission of Liu Shao-chi, circulated a document on how to orient the Cultural Revolution, which in reality was intended to prevent the progress of ideological transformation and the construction of socialism. Chairman Mao published a document in which he presented: 1) the condemnation of this pamphlet, 2) revisionists are being hatched here and now, and 3) the power of the scholars must be overthrown and the power of the people, the proletariat, must be established. Thus began the GPCR and it was the Party with Chairman Mao at its head that conceived of it, promulgated it, led it and carried it out.

In 1966, the Chinese Cultural Revolution began. But what happened in that year? Based on Chairman Mao's positions and call, the struggle against the academic authorities took off and they fought back. Liu and Teng formed groups to defeat the youth and proletarian militants who opposed the path of the Right in the field of culture. Chairman Mao called a meeting of the Central Committee and published “My First Big Character Poster. Bombard the Headquarters!”. In it, he said that right-wing fascist gangs had tried to shake class morality and that the black headquarters should be bombed. From this came the purge of the Central Committee and the dissolution of the Party. Only the Central Committee remained, as the other levels of leadership had been infiltrated by the Right. Chairman Mao called for every Communist to prove himself as such. These events caused a great commotion: the first blows were struck at the Peking Municipal Committee, where Peng Chen and others were

overthrown. On this basis, the powerful Red Guards movement developed. Millions of young people gathered in Beijing, where they were trained and exchanged experiences under the leadership of the GPCR Commission, which included Comrade Chiang Ching, and then set out to tour all parts of China.

January 1967, the January Storm of Shanghai. The reaction tried to strike a blow at the industrial center of the revolution. It cut off the lines of communication, committed acts of sabotage, etc. But the working class, led by the Communists, rebelled, overthrew the traitors and took power. A mistake of the Shanghai Communists was that they proposed to form a Commune, a form that Chairman Mao opposed, because when the same thing had been proposed in the 1950s, it had been shown to be impractical. The problem is not only to set millions of masses in motion, the central problem is the leadership of the Communist Party so that the course is maintained, because without this political leadership the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot develop in the long run towards Communism, as Marx conceived (Gotha Programme). Since the development of the Commune was not yet mature and, moreover, the Party was in a process of purification, Chairman Mao proposed that, instead of a Commune, Revolutionary Committees be formed with a three-in-one composition, consisting of: 1) Communists, outstanding representatives, 2) members of the Army called to support the GPCR, and 3) revolutionaries who had emerged from the masses. In this way, a great step is taken towards the recovery of power and its advancement.

In this way, a powerful mass movement developed with the GPCR, politically led by the Party. To this day, the world has not seen such a broad mobilization of the masses and ability of organization and leadership. The greatness of the movement was due to three circumstances: 1) the ideology, Mao Tse-tung Thought (as was said at that time), without which nothing would have been achieved, 2) the People's Liberation Army (PLA), which was capable of supporting the people, the working class, and 3) a great mobilization of the masses.

All this led to a powerful storm amidst the hostility of the USSR, with which there were hundreds of skirmishes on the border, and the hostility of the United States. The problem was whether China would preserve its unity and which side it would take, that of the USSR or the U.S., or whether it would continue on its own path.

The struggle went as far as armed clashes, which were exaggerated by the Western press, which, as usual, distorted the facts without the slightest knowledge of what the Chinese Communists were referring to when, for

example, they developed a “movement of cutting off noses and ears”. The PLA in Canton rebelled and even arrested members of the Central Committee, among others, an extremely serious problem that showed that the revisionists were using the Army against Communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and to support their treason. In view of this, Chairman Mao gave them 24 hours to surrender and moved airborne troops to the region. As a result, they had no choice but to submit. The revisionists ruthlessly murdered many workers, peasants, soldiers and young Red Guards.

But in the midst of this struggle, the supporters of the capitalist way were overthrown, including Chinese Khrushchev, Liu Shao-chi, and the incorrigible Teng Hsiao-ping, who in his self-criticism to save himself said that he did not believe in the masses and therefore should never have become a Party leader. And what do we see today? We see the truth of what Lenin taught: The Right and the revisionists are ready to sign anything if it will save their skin.

The revolution made great progress and Chairman Mao said: **“We have found the road we have long sought; we have found the form to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.”** The 9th Party Congress of 1969 followed, one of the most important in the history of the CPCh. At it, similar to the decision of the 7th Party Congress of 1943, which was deleted at the 8th Party Congress in 1956 by the work of Liu and Teng, it was stipulated anew that the Party would be guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. Teng supported the statutes that followed Liu’s political line and essentially said that there was no longer a class struggle in China and therefore the contradiction between productive forces and relations of production should be developed. The 9th Party Congress has a great significance. It stated that the USSR was an imperialist power that also had to be fought.

The Cultural Revolution continued. The experience of our Parties shows that when the Right is fought, “Left” radicalism always appears, demanding to take the struggle further than the situation allows; without seeing with objectivity the concrete conditions, it believes to be able to foresee the future and takes positions that go beyond the goal and possibilities. But as Lenin said, the Right and the “Left” radicals represent bourgeois positions, the “Left” radicalism is the Right deviation turned the other way around. The participation of the Army in the Cultural Revolution increased its weight and importance, and Lin Piao took advantage of that. However, we should be aware that Chairman Mao planned the Cultural Revolution with Lin Piao in addition to the group closest to him, formed by Chiang Ching, Kang Cheng, Chang Chun-chiao. Lin Piao launched a movement of praising Chairman Mao, aiming

to turn him into a holy ghost, as Chairman Mao himself calls it in a letter to Chiang Ching. He said, many believe that I have no doubts, but I have doubts, in me is the tiger and the monkey; but I apply what Lu Hsun said, I dissect myself, and no one can imagine to what point I do it, to analyze in depth my ideas, they try to put me on a pedestal according to the criterion, the higher someone is, the easier it is to overthrow him; but I am prepared for it, I know that I can break into a thousand pieces, but the matter is not destroyed, it is only transformed. The things I tell you must not be published, he continued, because if the Right takes power, it would use it against the Left, and what a beautiful spectacle it would be if the Right and the Left raise me to defend their own ideas. At a Central Committee Plenum, Chairman Mao picked apart this campaign. After that, Lin Piao went so far as to plan the assassination of Chairman Mao. However, this devious plan was discovered and Lin Piao tried to abscond. He took a plane and piloted it toward the USSR. Had he really been a Communist, he would have stayed to face the internal struggle. But he was not, and it is as Kang Sheng said, the revolution is the best judge and no one can avoid revealing his real nature in it. The plane crashed, or was shot down, or ran out of fuel, whatever the case, the fact is that this “winged horse” with ambitions to create a new imperial dynasty died, and it was Brezhnev who sadly announced the news to the world. Where was his leftism? There we see what Lin Piao was: a revisionist.

Thus, the Left was weakened, because during the struggle against Lin’s “Left” radicalism, the Right united, exhibited contrition, because the Right does not know what real self-criticism is, and played a role in the struggle against “Left” radicalism led by the Left. The balance of power changed, a situation reflected in the 10th Party Congress of 1973, which led to the return of, among others, Teng Hsiao-ping. There is a notable difference between Chou En-lai’s report and Wang Hung-wen’s. The first said that the main danger was the USSR, and behind it was to support the U.S. The second followed Chairman Mao and took the position that both superpowers were dangerous enemies. Chou’s political report said that imperialism was the epoch of proletarian revolution and Leninism corresponded to it, which aimed to say that the development of Marxism ended with Lenin. Chou has a tortuous development process: until 1935 he belonged to the group of “28½ Bolsheviks” who wanted to follow the Soviet experience to the letter. After 1935, he joined Chairman Mao more out of personal inclination than as a follower of Mao Tse-tung Thought.

An intense struggle ensued between the Right and the Left over the continuation of the GPCR, with some trying to reverse it while others wanted

it to continue. In Peking, the Tien An Men Square incident occurred in 1976. There, the Right used Chou En-lai on the occasion of his death ceremony. (It is well to remember that Kang Sheng was called an anti-revisionist fighter at his death, a qualification not accorded to Chou.) There was pandemonium in the Square and the iron fist of the working class crushed the counter-revolutionary movement. But Chairman Mao asked a question: who was behind it? The incorrigible Teng, the one who doesn't care if the cat is white or black as long as it catches mice. And so it was.

In 1976, the Left suffered a heavy and painful loss: the death of Chairman Mao, an immeasurable loss for the Communists and for China. The death of a Great Leader always provokes shocks. It was at this moment that the devious revisionists carried out their plan of a State coup, following a plan previously worked out by Teng, of whom no one can say that he was unaware beforehand. In this State coup led by Teng, the armed forces were used by a section of the Central Committee to arrest members of the Central Committee. Thus, these scoundrels, incapable of ideological struggle, arrested Comrade Chiang Ching and the four, similar to what Khrushchev did in 1953, the same ideas, the same way of acting, the same clan.

From 1976, the last part of the Cultural Revolution took place, with great struggles, great strikes, great clashes, and a Left whose highest representative was on the verge of death, and which also faced new, unsolved problems of socialism, of which even today we have insufficient knowledge. Besides, they themselves had weaknesses, for when Teng put on the farce of his trial, only two, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, remained steadfast; the other two were broken, expressing their insufficient steadfastness and lack of Communist understanding and resolve. Chiang Ching, on the other hand, shouted in the judges' faces: I do not recognize this court because it is fascist and Teng is a fascist, "I am a being without law", a famous saying that exposed the revisionists. By this we recognize her Communist spirit. And neither she nor Comrade Chang Chun-chiao let themselves be forced to sign the fascist verdict. Meanwhile, the "political center" figures applauded, showing that they are nothing but a slide to the Right. Chairman Mao said that when the tiger is not in the jungle, the monkey thinks he is the king. And what happened to the so-called "Chairman" Hua Kuo-feng? The revisionists ate him for breakfast.

Thus began in China the appropriation of the dictatorship of the proletariat using the Army, the restoration of capitalism. A series of individuals followed who played a temporary role while Teng restored capitalism through dazzle and pragmatism. With this individual, red China became black, the

dictatorship of the proletariat became a fascist dictatorship, and the Communist Party became revisionist. Internationally, it applies a great power policy and aims to become a superpower in the next century. In the countryside, a regression has occurred, the Communes have been destroyed, the cooperatives have been dissolved, and it is working towards an allocation of the land that goes as far as allowing it to be leased, all this combined with the great expulsion of the peasants. One of the last battles that the Left fought was the conference on agriculture, in which Hua argued that the main problem was the mechanization of agriculture. And who opposed him was not the peasant leaders from Tachai, but Comrade Chiang Ching. From this we can see once again that the problem is not class origin, but class position. Today, the capitalist way continues to be applied in agriculture, stimulating peasants to produce capitalism 24 hours a day. In industry, the unrestricted opening of the country to imperialist investment has taken place with the establishment of free trade zones, capital export and great material incentives, as well as the promotion of private production and trade, which are advancing with giant steps. This is accompanied by the continuation of the capitalist path in industry. In financial policy: large financial centers and the banks were created for foreign trade and as intermediaries for imperialist investment. The path that Teng applied was the most direct and unrestrained way of returning to capitalism. This one has also pursued the increasing separation of the State and the Party, the breaking of their links, it has changed the structure of the Army, basing it only on arms, and in foreign policy it has applied a great power policy, a policy of give and take with the imperialist powers and superpowers, and all this since 1976.

Teng, like Gorbachev, has recently carried out a counter-revolutionary, revisionist offensive to consolidate his power, but obviously the same thing is happening to the Chinese as to the Soviets. They have severe problems. There are battles between the rulers and the warlords, with the issue being who gets the most benefit from state power. Zhao Shi-yang, for example, has large investments through his son that reach into Hong Kong. Chairman Mao has warned that as the revolution develops and the leaders are not firmly entrenched in Communism, some will begin to emerge who want to use State power for their own benefit and oppose the class and the people in this way. The State coup of 1976 ushered in the return of the warlords, a phenomenon that was already evident in China after the 1911 revolution.

In China, the situation has come to a head. Inflation, the increase in prices, especially of food, the increase in the cost of living has begun. Rural exodus started: there are 55.000.000 peasants who left the rural areas because

their land property was taken away from them. New millionaires have appeared. Non-State enterprises and trading companies have proliferated. And in China, the motto propagated by Liu and Teng in the '50s prevails: "It is good to get rich, because bringing the wealth of imperialism here is good because it gives work." wages are increasingly decreasing and are subject to the so-called "free labor market". Unemployment increases, which brings a reserve army, that is, there is all the capitalist rot and, in addition, relations with the imperialist world and great powers and the resulting dependence are strengthened. Special schools have again been set up to train the children of the rulers to become future "leaders", a cause Chairman Mao always opposed.

Thus, the Chinese working class and people are again suffering exploitation and oppression that will continue as long as the fascist dictatorship is not overthrown and the restoration of capitalism is not reversed.

Just as we have noted that the counter-revolutionary revisionist offensive has created difficulties in the USSR, problems are also emerging in China, albeit of a different kind. Already since the death of Chairman Mao, there have been peasant uprisings in China, there has been sabotage, and guerrilla warfare has begun to develop, but these facts are kept quiet. The workers are fighting Teng's new regulations for enterprises, demanding the right to strike, which Chairman Mao reinstated in the constitution. The Chinese peasants find themselves once again in a situation of growing poverty, and they are tormented by hunger. Once again they have to sell their daughters, and feudal forms reappear. But don't the working class and the people remember how it was and see how it is today? And beyond that after a Cultural Revolution? Chairman Mao already said in the GPCR that one of their reasons was that the youth had not had the experience of revolution and had to go through it. And these young people who were 14 to 20 years old in the '70s are now in their forties. Is it conceivable that they have forgotten the GPCR, an experience that has left an indelible mark on them? No. As a French scholar said, Chairman Mao had in mind the raising of a future generation.

The Chinese also have economic problems. No one can overlook Japan's investment in China, which is a big market because of its population. But they have not been able to carry out their entire plan and all the investments that Teng expected, because Yankee imperialism and others impose conditions and demand collateral. Besides, they have problems in renewing the weapons of their armed forces. They made a fabulous plan for the purchase of ultra-modern weapons, involving several billion dollars, but England, for example, refused to sell them Harrier vertical launchers, and so they cannot get all the

weapons systems they hoped for. Besides, the modernization of the army has contributed to their further distance from the people, and thus their army is reducing. This also has to do with the formation of a professional army.

China has also had international problems and border disputes, such as several armed clashes with Vietnam and political setbacks in Kim's Korea, where Soviet influence is steadily increasing. It has problems in Africa, Latin America, and oppressed nations due to competition and shortage of capital. Conspicuous and unmistakable are the increase in the cost of living of the people, inflation, wage reduction and the selling off of the land of the peasants. Besides, the problem of dissidents has appeared, which seems to be almost an imitation: Sakharov in Russia, and in China it is also a physicist. There are, as we have already noted, disputes of warlords, as expressed by the deposition of Hu Yao-lang and the existence of the power groups Zhaos, Tengs, etc., disputes that undermine the armed forces themselves.

All this led to the emergence of a powerful mass movement in China, consisting first of hundreds of thousands of youth and then of workers and peasants in Peking, Shanghai and other provincial capitals, leading to the situation in Tien An Men Square, another incident in the heart of Peking. A sharp dispute between factions postponed the armed deployment of Tien An Men until Teng could reassert his influence. But in the process, it can be seen that Teng's authority has been challenged, not recognized, by Zhao. Teng announced himself with Chou's adopted son, Li Peng, who, like many of them, had been trained as a bureaucrat in the Soviet Union. Teng was able to get his way with his faction and oust Zhao by relying mainly on the PLA, which he dominates because the only post he has not relinquished is that of president of the Military Commission. From this we see how the army continues to serve to usurp power and decide the struggle of interest groups, and this means that warlords are being formed, which carries a risk: the division, the breakup of China, and if that were to occur, the ambitions of imperialist powers and world powers to seize part or all of China will intensify. What would it mean if the USSR controlled China? Control of 1.100.000.000 inhabitants, control of the most central and important part of the Pacific basin. What would it mean if the U.S. controlled China? Then it would have the key to Asia and the ability to slow down the USSR from Asia, and control of all of Asia and the Pacific. For both, that would mean an escalation of the struggle for dominance. That is why Bush said that the U.S. should support the so-called democratic movement of Chinese youth, but it should not cross certain boundaries, as this would unbalance Asia. Gorbachev, for his part, expressed his "good wishes" that he hoped

the Chinese government could keep the situation under control, which is nothing but his falsehood. He is worried that perestroika is constantly having bigger problems.

In this way, because of the situation of China and the perspective of what could happen there in the future, the problem of Asia shakes the world.

What is very expressive about the Chinese movement is that groups have appeared with the name “Dare!”, derived from the quote of Chairman Mao, where he says that the whole problem is to dare, and “The Desperate”, which means to be ready for anything to overthrow the fascist dictatorship. It is also very important that posters with the slogan “The people and the people alone are the motive force!” have appeared. In several cities, workers are marching again with Mao insignia and portraits. The workers express that things were good for them in the past and not today, as they say, “Mao was good, a dollar was a dollar, Teng may be good, but a dollar is only worth ten cents.” This manifests the people’s rejection and understanding of the current situation. They say “the armed forces are not for Teng to use”, “Teng is not an emperor”, and in reference to the iron fist of the working class crushing the counter-revolution, they publish drawings of a hammer smashing a small bottle (small bottle in Chinese = Teng). Then there are also forms of struggle such as risking one’s life in resistance to the repression of the army, and that organizations were formed years ago to defend the revolution. All these facts are expressive, very expressive, and deserve our attention.

Imperialism and its imperialist media spread that a movement for the return to bourgeois democracy has formed in China. Moreover, we do not agree with the statement that “in China, as in the Eastern European countries, a return to a complete bourgeois-democratic system is being sought”, because even if it could be that in the struggle against fascism bourgeois-democratic points of view are expressed, or even that, due to their lack of understanding, the majority speaks of it, this would be only one of the interests in the struggle, the position of a single class, the bourgeoisie. And what is the interest of the classes that make up the people, especially the proletariat? Would their interest cease to be expressed only because of their lost prestige? And besides, isn’t bourgeois democracy one of the ways of the fall of revisionism, a way of the bourgeois development of revisionism? On the other hand, Chairman Mao taught in “On New Democracy” that in China, the State was discussed for decades, and it was understood that bourgeois democracy was not the right way for China, because what corresponds to its situation is a New Democracy to move to socialism. Does this mean that no one knows the text “On New

Democracy” anymore? That would be absurd, and it would be equally absurd to say that the proletariat and the people in China have forgotten the dictatorship of the proletariat and the great experiences and lessons of the GPCR.

Chairman Mao said in 1975 that what Lenin said about the petty bourgeoisie is being fulfilled in China, namely that it produces capitalism 24 hours a day, and furthermore that the party itself produces the bourgeoisie, and that is why he calls for the study of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said that there was a wage system in China with various persisting forms of capitalism, and that what Lenin said about the “bourgeois State without bourgeoisie” was correct. Chairman Mao arranged for the publication of extracts of the texts of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat, where it is shown in a very expressive way that the power of the bourgeoisie must be overthrown at gunpoint (Marx).

Chairman Mao also said that since 1911, when the emperor was overthrown, no one has ruled China for a long time with the exception of Chiang Kai-shek, who lasted only 20 years. He said it was possible that after his death, the rightists would take power, but their life would not be easy because the Chinese people would rise up. There was too much political education and experience in China for the treacherous Rightists to feel calm.

The article “The Struggle Between the Legist and Confucian Schools” (the Legist school is the ideological school that fought against the old order of slaveholding society for feudal society as the new order), published in *Peking Review*, No. 2 of 1975, takes up Chairman Mao’s thesis on restoration and counter-restoration. It points out that there was a long period of 250 years of struggle between slaveholding society and feudalism until the latter prevailed. When there was the first restoration, the leaders were disoriented; they did not know what to do, and it was the struggle of the masses, their revolts and war that regained power.

One wonders, “How long has Teng been in power?” Not even a decade, and Chairman Mao spoke of 20 years. It can be more, but he will fall, because the proletariat and the people in China have gone through the school of relentless political struggle, great class struggle, hard People’s War and unimaginable cultural revolution. Therefore, the problem for the Communists is not to simply register what the imperialist press spreads about the so-called democratic movement, and even less to claim that a complete bourgeois democracy is aimed at. In any case, the question would be who is striving for it.

Given China’s experience, we consider this rebellion, this youth uprising, as a re-edition of the May 1919 uprising 70 years ago, when there was a

great mobilization of youth and intellectuals that shook China, and two years later, in 1921, the CPCCh was founded. We should remember that Chairman Mao refers to these events as the beginning of the democratic revolution in China. Thus, what we are seeing cannot be a simple coincidence, and if we add to that the fact that the proletariat and the people are drawing comparisons between what they had before and what they do not have today, between their existence when Chairman Mao was alive and today, when they are sinking into growing exploitation and oppression, we do not believe that what we are witnessing today is a mere coincidence: Chairman Mao's insignia, the formation of "kamikaze" groups, people ready to die, young people ready to die in the face of a line of armored cars. All this is no mere coincidence, nor are the expressions of support for Chairman Mao in Hunan and northeastern China. It is also no coincidence that the first three sentenced to death are workers; this means that the class is fighting. Thus, all these facts, as well as the forms of mass struggle and open violence used by the Chinese people steeled in them, reveal at least that the example of the Chinese Revolution, Chairman Mao's way, continues to live among the people, and the youth ask themselves, "What was the Cultural Revolution like and who led it?" That is, they are asking how to fight revisionism.

And in the midst of these immense masses, this whole great struggle, this glorious, heroic struggle, at least Communist groups are forming, if they no longer exist. Because by its claws you can recognize the tiger, and the forms of struggle and the ideas that are expressed, such as the formation of human chains to prevent the attacks on the statue of Chairman Mao or the holding up of his portrait show that there are Communists who are regrouping and that they are doing it in the utmost secrecy is understandable. The forms of struggle show other ideas: the attack of the army, the storming and the throwing of incendiary devices at the tanks are steps to take up revolutionary violence as a universal law, means to take up revolutionary violence again, means to understand the army as a support of the fascist dictatorship, and this is what is important to the communists, even if these are only simple seeds, because what interests us is that the working class exists as an economic, political and above all ideological action. Because ideology cannot be buried and will always live and develop in the spirit of the class, of the people. Chairman Mao taught us to have confidence in the masses. He said that in China there are 600.000.000 Maos and they will rise up. Well, they are already beginning to rise up. He foresaw the winding road and said that if the left loses power and the right seizes

the dictatorship of the proletariat, the only way left is to wage a new guerrilla war.

In the case that a majority is in favor of bourgeois democracy, this is the target, which is not true in China today. What we Communists have to see is that the class is fighting, it is regrouping, it will bring forth its party again and this will follow Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and solve the problem and the new problems that arise with the weapons, with the people's war. Not seeing this means parroting in one way or another what imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism claim.

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION¹²

1989

Points for reflection and for spurring us on to more deeply fulfill our duty as Communists.

1. THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

Clearly the Chinese Revolution has had far-reaching consequences for humanity, and this is true for several reasons. One is the sheer *immense number* of people who took part: 400.000.000 at first, and 800.000.000 by the time of the Cultural Revolution. It was a region of *earth-shaking struggles*, with a vast tradition of conflicts involving the masses of people, the peasants, whose struggles went back to the most ancient times, and wars such as the 1840 Opium War, for example. During the Cultural Revolution, in summing up China's long history, it was said that a hallmark of the country's history was the way its development was *marked by many different armed struggles*. This is the context that gave birth to the Communist Party of China (CPCh) and Chairman Mao, the third leading light and highest peak of Marxism. All this served to create very special conditions in China, and what happened there shook the world.

Consider the *democratic revolution*: It is essentially a revolution, the overthrow of one class by another by means of People's War, of violence. This is a universal law, especially important today when some people seek to discard it as outdated. The democratic revolution in China is a model, a prototype of a revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. The democratic revolution inevitably leads to a second revolution, and thus the Chinese Revolution requires us to consider not only the democratic revolution, but also how it went over without pause to *socialist revolution*. In a country such as ours socialist revolution is not possible without first carrying out the democratic revolution. Chairman Mao showed that the socialist revolution is a

¹² Speech by Chairman Gonzalo at a reunion of leaders and cadres on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Chinese Revolution, 30th of September 1989.

continuation of the democratic revolution, and furthermore, that in the form of the cultural revolution it is a continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat based on the People's Army which can defend the new State founded on the broad masses. He made it clear that the task of socialist construction arises with the revolution itself, and that this process is extremely complex and protracted; furthermore, Chairman Mao said that we Communists still lacked a thorough and complete understanding of the laws of socialism and that such an understanding would take a long time to achieve. There would be sharp and violent class struggle, he said, and the confrontation between two different roads: the capitalist road and the socialist road; the question of which would win out was not settled. Of course he never doubted that in the long run socialism would triumph, but he specifically emphasized the sharp class struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

He taught that socialism required relying on the broad masses, the peasants, proletariat and people, in order to develop new things and avoid the old capitalist roads that had been defeated by the revolution and that would lead away from the socialist road. Socialism would have to give rise to new forms. He made it clear that the class struggle would continue to be acute, that the center of the battle is for the dictatorship of the proletariat, which relies on the broad masses.

But furthermore, the Chinese Revolution has shown the necessity for *cultural revolution*, a fierce but necessary struggle to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Clearly the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) represents a world-historic epic of revolution, a victorious high point for the Communists and revolutionaries of the world, an imperishable achievement. Although we have a whole process ahead of us, that revolution left us great lessons we are already applying, such as, for example, the point that ideological transformation is fundamental in order for our class to seize power, which today means bringing about an ideological leap in order to seize State power.

In addition to these two points, the Chinese Revolution has shown how revolution takes place within the context of a process of *restoration and counter-restoration* (a contradiction with two aspects). No class has ever seized power at one go; rather, each has faced the restoration of the old power and had to fight fiercely for a counter-restoration until finally that class seized power for good. The proletariat has already travelled the greater part of this road.

Thus the Chinese Revolution bids us to reflect upon the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution, the GPCR, and restorations and counter-restorations, or in essence, the permanent revolution, as Marx called the stormy march forward of our class to achieve Communism through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Today more than ever, we proclaim that our goal is to make Communism a reality, and nothing can stop our march towards that future. This ineluctable march must go through difficult stages and processes, each stage involving new and more difficult problems, but we Communists possess the necessary strength to overcome them because we possess the most powerful ideology. We reaffirm that as Communists, this must be our final goal, no matter how great the difficulties that our class, the proletariat, must vanquish. The problems we see today, *the restorations in China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), do not negate this goal, but rather underline the length and complexity of the process of the march towards Communism.* Today, when some people proclaim that Communism is finished, let us grasp the Chinese Revolution, and let our Party, as part of the World Revolution, serve its goal: Communism.

This is what we draw from the Chinese Revolution and the role of Chairman Mao.

2. MAOISM

This is the decisive question. Chairman Mao teaches that the ideological and political line decides everything, and we have but one ideology: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism. This is not the place to outline Marxism overall, nor is it necessary; our point here is to see the ideology of the proletariat as a great reality that develops by leaps and through stages. Its first stage was Marxism, its second, Leninism, and its third stage, its higher and greater expression, is Maoism. Thus, for us Communists, Marxism is an irresistible force, living, always pushing forward, developing. Just when fools declare it dead, it develops further and refutes them resoundingly. Even in Marx's day such nonsense abounded, and the same was true in Lenin's time and today as well. It should be no surprise when these would-be buriers of Marxism trot out their lies. They aim cunning and sinister attacks at Maoism because Maoism is humanity's most advanced outlook.

It is exactly when the ideology of our Communist Parties reaches greater heights that it is attacked, negated and declared outmoded. But — and

this is very important — all this gibberish about the so-called death of Marxism *is only the prelude to a new development of Marxism*, as it was in Marx's and Lenin's times. Maoism is the most advanced scientific ideology, and therefore the most advanced scientific ideology, and therefore the most transforming reality. It arose from matter and is a material expression, because the spirit is simply a form of matter. We have been given humanity's most advanced ideology: Maoism.

We must *reaffirm our great slogan of 1979: Uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism!* (This slogan has been updated, because at that time we said Mao Tse-tung Thought.) Those who think they can negate it are dreaming!

Maoism is something *new*, and new-born things have never been easily accepted. Its authority has been established through fierce struggle, by the leadership of the proletariat in the revolution, the Communist Parties. Lenin called Marxism the tree of life and idealism a mere parasite; today, the idealism being propagated is simply a rotten parasite on Maoism, which is the living tree of life. We are convinced of the greatness of Maoism, and we owe it everything, for without it we would not even be together here. Without Maoism, there could be no People's War, nor could this People's War, nor could this People's War be a bright flame prevailing against wind and waves.

Maoism has the most far-reaching importance for the international proletariat and the peoples of the world. *Therefore it remains a necessary task to struggle to make it the commander and guide of the World Revolution.* Consider the immense power contained in Maoism, all the power with which it can arm the proletariat and the people. Chairman Mao said that in difficult times, we should consider our all-powerful ideology; we have Maoism. He was right to say that the proletariat had the most powerful atomic bomb: Mao Tse-tung Thought, as was said in those days.

Thus, let us reaffirm our Maoism, the most glorious peak.

3. THE NEW-COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY OFFENSIVE BEING CARRIED OUT BY GORBACHEV AND TENG WORLD-WIDE

Clearly they are carrying out this offensive in collusion with the blackest world reaction, imperialism, because it suits their convergent interests.

The sinister and perverse nature of Gorbachev and Teng's new offensive becomes clearer every day. They negate the most basic points. Thus Chinese revisionist followers of Teng put forward the idea that capitalism goes through four stages — the embryonic, primary, secondary and highest stages — and that since the 2nd World War, capitalism has reached its highest stage. They negate Lenin's central thesis of imperialism; furthermore, they say that capitalism is far from being outmoded, that it enjoys sufficient strength to overcome its difficulties. Articles in the international press argue that the world capitalist system, the US system, gives the lie to Marx's ideas, that essentially Marx was wrong in holding that under capitalism overproduction gives rise to crisis, since today such crises can be managed and therefore do not mean that the system is outmoded. At the same time they admit that a crisis of overproduction could arise, and therefore contradict themselves. The point here is that the Chinese revisionists and the imperialists are in collusion against Marxism.

Regarding the role of the Church: A Peruvian entrepreneur, a member of the big bourgeoisie tied to imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism, says that the country's economy is heading inevitably towards an explosion, and that therefore, together with the Church, they are carrying out schemes designed to contain that explosion. The Community in Action charity scheme administered by Caritas is a part of these efforts to stop the revolution and to traffic in the masses' hunger. In China today they are calling for recognition of the Church's new role; they are saying that under socialism religion is not the opium of the people. This is an open negation of Marx, which they justify with the false claim that Marx's judgement was made before Marxism had come up with a scientific analysis of the role of religion. This, too, is an example of how revisionism coincides with reaction. We are very much clear on the role of the Church. We have put forward our views before, distinguishing between the class interests of the Church hierarchy and the religious feelings of the people; furthermore, who could ever forget the Pope's furious threats, when he warned us to "change your attitude" while he blessed the reactionary armed forces? Wherever there are problems the Pope always shows up to play his counter-revolutionary role. Poland is another example for this.

Thus revisionism's negation of Marxism is taking specific forms and this is leading to its own death and disintegration.

Our Party said that there would come a time to wage a great battle to defend Marxism in every sphere. This time has come; it is time to defend Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism. This means we should study revisionism thoroughly, as one studies the enemy, because we are locked in a war to

the death with it. We should study it and rip out its guts so as to expose its hideous features for the world to see. We have to show how revisionism, imperialism and world reaction collude to put Marxism into question and refute it.

In the economic sphere they proclaim that capitalism has come up with a solution to its problems and therefore is not headed for collapse. They want us, the peoples of the Earth, the proletariat, to believe that capitalism is eternal. They want to pull the wool over our eyes in the political sphere as well, when these fools try and make us believe that the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is not a system headed for ruin, that the bourgeoisie is not outworn but has received a new lease on life, that the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is also eternal. Ideologically, they preach an idealism shot through with the most reactionary religion, especially Catholicism, loaded with more superstition and fraud.

Armed with Maoism, which is the peak of Marxism, with People's War, with the Party, mobilizing the masses, we must expose and smash all these schemes, and above all, serve the advance of the World Revolution.

4. THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU

The Communist Party of Peru (CPP) is Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought. The Communist Party and the People's War it leads are proof of the invincibility and vitality of Marxism, of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, and this entails the greatest responsibility. Therefore we should develop the People's War in order to show the validity and power of Maoism and seize power.

The seizure of power will have far-reaching consequences because we are in a key part of Latin America at a time when this continent, in comparison with Asia and Africa, is undergoing the most severe economic, political and ideological crisis, a general crisis with no solution in sight in the coming years. This can be seen in the fact that while countries are growing at a rate of over 9% a year in Asia, at 3% in Africa and 2.5% in the backward European countries, North Africa and the Middle East, the growth rate for Latin America is 1%, and this in turn should be measured against the continent's high population growth rate.

Consider the role of the CPP and what the country-wide seizure of power would mean. It would change history. Facts are confirming our Party's

analysis in this regard: for example, that the 1990s will be even worse for the reaction than the 1980s, as they themselves admit. Let's seriously analyze US imperialism's campaign which Bush claims is aimed at drugs. Peru is the main producer, Bolivia the second and Colombia the third. This much is true. But what is the US's aim? To escalate their counter-revolutionary war in the Andean countries which are the backbone of Latin America, especially South America. Where, along this backbone, is People's War raging? In Peru, under the leadership of the Party and through the actions of the masses. Therefore their campaign is aimed at us. What does this mean? It is leading to the development of the contradiction nation-imperialism, mainly US imperialism, without forgetting the other superpower and the other powers. It means a change in the contradiction. Let's not forget that other countries could be used in this; serious complications could arise, especially for the southern part of Peru, from Brazil's demand for an outlet to the Pacific through the port cities of Matarani and Ilo, or the widely-exposed policy of the Peruvian State to move away from Bolivia and closer to Chile. Yankee aggression, whether it be direct or indirect by way of puppet governments, is bringing about a war of national liberation, and despite the sacrifice and the efforts this would require, there will be a magnificent opportunity to unite 90% of the Peruvian people, at a time when the Party is calling for the country-wide seizure of power, and this will mean more favorable, though more difficult, conditions for the Peruvian Revolution. Imperialism is dreaming if it thinks it can snuff out the revolution, and while this period will be extremely difficult, complex and bloody, it will lead to the people's triumph and serve the emancipation of the class and the Proletarian World Revolution, and, the decisive point, it will make Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, the commander and guide of the World Revolution.

Only through great storms, Chairman Mao said, can the world be changed. Let the Chinese Revolution spur us on to fulfill the Party's tasks here where it is our responsibility to do so!

ON THE REFOUNDATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU¹³

1991

THE PROCESS THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE IN THE PARTY

From the beginnings of the Red Faction in the '60s, the documents are very expressive. If we look at *Red Flag* no. 1, even on the cover, there is the hammer and sickle, it is for May 1st, very clear positions are put forward. We can see this in the basic Party documents of the Faction. On page 2 there is an article on social classes and we start from a quotation from Marx to develop the question of social classes. The quote refers to the fact that there is a true revolution which is the Communist revolution. This is in *Red Flag* no. 1, Ayacucho 1963. This is how the fraction begins to define our political ideological conception. On page 4, article "Peasants", it has a quote from Lenin: To the poor of the countryside, perfect for the peasants of today. In 1963, when the peasant movement was the order of the day and the highest simultaneous peasant movement in this century was registered, different from the current situation, when the situation was that everyone was wondering how an agrarian law would be given, the Faction states in that article that the revolution will be from the countryside to the city, it is very important. Clear position on the road, peasantry, worker-peasant alliance, against Belaúnde's plan of picks and bullets. It speaks to us on page 5 of revolution, of Marx's thesis of the clash between productive forces and relations of production, quote that is in "Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy". Also on the revolutionary situation starting from Lenin. Our Party since the '60s has been clear about what is a revolutionary situation. We have always based ourselves on the world experience in what Marxism-Leninism teaches as it was said then. Enter the problem of which is the way in Peru, because in the Party the so-called roads were debated. Our position was very clear: the only way is revolutionary violence and the revolution from the countryside to the city. There is a very important quotation

¹³ Extracted from the Preparatory Session of the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee.

from Marx on insurrection, that we should not play with it and carry it to term. We did not yet know texts of Chairman Mao, Marx's quotations are entirely valid. We stated our obligation to serve the World Revolution by defending Marxism and supporting the great struggles that were taking place at that time. We also said that we could not dream of a quick triumph of the revolution and that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the necessary path of the proletarian revolution.

These are very expressive things. Without political ideological foundations it is not possible to open the road. It is decisive. That Chairman Mao has raised it to a very high level we come to understand later.

April '64 *Red Flag* no. 4. It raises greetings to the proletariat for May 1st and that it leads based on Marxism-Leninism, based on its ideology. It also says unions of all types, class conscious, strong union of the proletariat and peasants around the worker-peasant alliance, uniting all the masses, that is how the revolution is made. Where do they get that we are sectarian, that we are against the unions? The problem is that we want authentic unions. We cannot leave them in the hands of traitors, we cannot leave them in the hands of scabs. Refoundation of a true national, class conscious and proletarian central, without traitors or sell-outs. That is what we want. Authentic unions are being forged, time to time, decades and centuries are condensed in days and many things fly in the air and what remains is the class conscious, the proletariat. That which we are proposing to undermine them from below is for it to take place in the great condensation and it is not that we are going to wait long years for it to take place. We fight against this worker-peasant-student alliance, it is not possible to change things. It calls upon us to become aware of the historical role of the class.

There is also an article on the class character of the Belaúnde government in *Red Flag* no. 6. We unmasked its class character, we said that it could not represent the exploited classes, that a year into his government, it does not say that it is of the national bourgeoisie. The problem was the struggle between the Ayacucho Departmental and the National Leadership, which maintained that Belaúnde was of the national bourgeoisie. It was a hard struggle over the article "Peasants" and over Belaúnde because he proposed land invasion and unmasked. This is August '64, but the document of the 4th National Conference says that Belaúnde's government is of the national bourgeoisie and with him to practice unity and struggle, the same revisionist position continued in the Party.

Editorial. Page 12. It talks about the Party, the task it has to fulfill to conquer power and lead the people to the socialist revolution, that is what "For

the revolution to socialism” wanted to say, because there were proposals that said that it was possible to evolve, we did not think like that.

These documents are very important, they show us how the Faction begins to develop its work. On that basis we swept away revisionism in Ayacucho, they were not even left for remedy, that is clear and concrete, we disappeared them. The famous Chinese Letter of June 14th, 1963 was a weapon of combat, a happy coincidence with the anniversary of Mariátegui’s birth.

It shows us that we have advanced on the base of ideological-political principles, in a two-line struggle against revisionism, class struggle and the main basis on which it is built. He also shows us that to form a Party, to develop it, is not a simple thing, that a handful is enough to assume the construction of a Party for it to develop and grow and the problem is not how long one is going to last. Mariátegui taught us to fulfill his day, nothing more.

Year ‘65. Page 14: “On the Party, its Principles and Objectives”. It is the first article of the new statutes that was made after we broke with revisionism and held the 5th National Conference. September 1965. It was entrusted to the one who speaks of drafting the statutes. There it is stated that the Communist Party of Peru (CPP) is the Party of the working class, its organized vanguard. Marxism-leninism as ideological base. Violent revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat. War to the death against contemporary revisionism in defense of Marxism and the national and international revolution. On pages 16 to 20 a very important article because we say that Mariátegui’s line should never have been abandoned and that it had to be developed.

In *Red Flag* no. 2 there is an article: “Túpac Amaru, Revolutionary Hero of the People”. Much has been trafficked with him, they accuse us that we do not start from history, the proof is here, we analyzed it and we drew lessons from the greatest social movement in America until today as we say there. We have reanalyzed Túpac Amaru in the 8th Plenum and we have drawn military lessons. What lessons do the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) draw?

On page 24: “July 28th, Last Day of Despotism and First of the Same”, *Red Flag* July ‘66. It says that nothing changed, the same exploiting class continued. There is also democratic revolution led by the Communist Party and People’s War. P. 29: “Chairman Mao, Man of Thought and Action”. P. 29 Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) and concrete lessons are drawn. P. 31 The Communist Party and secret work.

There is no Communist Party without secret work. That is very clear in *Red Flag* no. 28, January ‘67, I wrote it, I was Secretary of Education and

Organization of the Central Committee. That has a foundation. The Party is secret because we have to conquer power and overthrow it, the CPP attracts the implacable hatred of the oppressors who seek to destroy it by all possible means, mainly by mobilizing the repressive bureaucratic apparatus of the State, even though the reactionaries use the tactic of the soft hand in one period and the hard hand in another. These changes are nothing more than different methods for the same end, to frustrate the revolution by annihilating the Party of the proletariat, the only Party capable of carrying the revolution to the end. That is the reason why the Party has to be secret. When we have seen the problem of the falls we said that it is forgotten, the political ideological root of what the Party is for is not seen; it is developed by carrying out secret and open work, these are not problems that are not new. 23 years later we continue raising the same thing but there are comrades who do not understand this way. Then, how to construct the conquest of power, is it not going to be in a more fierce struggle?

Page 35: "Let us put an end to counter-revolutionary sanctification". It refers to which day we should celebrate, the birth or death of Mariátegui. The revisionists make pilgrimages every year on the day of his death. According to marxism the day of the birth of the leaders is celebrated.

Page 31: "Develop the Marxist-Leninist Thought of Our Founder and Shining Guide." It vindicates Mariátegui.

We have a long process of how we have initiated and developed, how that first struggle fighting revisionism, defending Marxism and organizing the Regional Committee of Ayacucho shows the ideological-political and organizational linkage.

All this will lead to a situation. In September '67, in September, measures were proposed to develop construction. This is in the offprint of the documents of the Faction. It was presented in a session of the Enlarged Political Commission and was approved because nothing else was presented. Fundamental measures that required to sweep away the remnants of revisionism, we proposed how to carry out open work, union work, United Front, because it is open and armed force, that in the final analysis the Army is a form of Front with weapons in hand. In the case of the Party. Organizational forms and forms of struggle. Without a good method of leadership it is not possible to work well, without democratic centralism, without strategic centralization and decentralization of functions. What is centralized are the policies and the functions are decentralized. Style of work.

It says “to develop struggle at all levels to adjust the organizational to the political”. The Party has to be prepared when the moment arrives, because when it comes it is too late to prepare, it is underlined “taking up arms in the next revolutionary upsurge of the masses”. Also underlined are “leading the struggle against revisionism the struggle, which is the opportunism that threatens to corrode our ranks”. “Put the center of Party work in the countryside to deepen the peasant struggles.” “To develop the armed force, the main task of the Party.” How to carry this forward is raised.

The National Leadership should move to the countryside. Partial displacement is possible for the moment. Regional leaders should go to the countryside. Energetically apply new system of organization with the highland committees as the main ones. Systematic education campaign. The formation of the cadres is decisive. The ideological basis of the campaign is the Thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Redistribution of Party cadres. Central Committee dedicated to work 24 hours a day. Expansion of the Political Commission. Military Commission, Comrades dedicated fundamentally to the military problem. Regional leadership on the base of members of the National Leadership, selected by the National Leadership. Open work, secret work, politically and militarily. Purge the militancy through work. Political Commissariat. Zones of military work. The press, agitation and propaganda have capital importance, the main thing is the writing and control because there is the line, it is not a problem of printing as the main thing, printing is necessary. Filling Front and union gaps. Peasant work, balance and center of our attention. Norms on the Communist Youth, the Party directs it. All of the above demands a bold and firm promotion of cadres.

Economically, rely on their own efforts. Keep in mind that the Party will bolshevize itself and create the powerful organizations of the revolution only through armed struggle. “Political power comes from the barrel of the gun.” Internal struggle to be deepened by the Enlarged Political Commission. Security Commission.

What is interesting to see is how all this political ideological debate, the political ideological bases, leads to organizational issues, to organizational construction. This generated that some members of the Central Committee were going to cease to be members because they were not full time, the problem of distributing cadres, putting an end to personal disputes, aims to put the armed force at the center, it is a function of preparing for war. This generated a strong internal struggle, in the same separate page 2 there is “Develop in depth the internal struggle in the revolutionary practice.” An entire ideological process

leads to an organizational question and this raises internal struggle for it to develop.

At another time “Mariátegui established the General Political Line of the Peruvian Revolution”. So there was a political line. To arrive at this demanded internal struggle, one of the most dirty struggles carried out by the liquidationism of Paredes. It has to do with the question of Red Fatherland, he did not know how to handle it well. It led to the division of the Party because Paredes set up a plan to blow up the Party by artfully managing a police coup. It generated a revolt in the Party because the political line was not clearly defined, the ideological unity because there was Castroism, Maoism was questioned, Mariátegui was denied, Paredes believed he had created the line, that is why to speak of Mariátegui was to oppose the Secretary.

It was shown that there was a strong Committee, the Regional Committee of Ayacucho that stood up to him. The Party was blown up and we were reduced to one Committee and in the country dozens.

Declaration of the 2nd Plenum. Year ‘70.

When the Party exploded we were few, a handful, so the question is not how many there are but whether you want to or not. In February ‘70 the cadres assumed this declaration. The Declaration defines the character of the State and government that ruled as fascist and corporativist and then how we had to develop starting with unmasking the liquidationist line. “Refound the Party on the Base of Party Unity” that comes from ‘67 as can be seen in those documents mentioned. Again a ideological-political foundation, page 55.

3rd Plenum of the Central Committee. Year ‘73. “On the Refoundation.” The turning point came in the ‘70s, we focused on the defense of the existence of the Party, 73 was over. Then it was up to us to expand it, to develop it and that required political bases. Analytical scheme page 125. Just as today we propose political bases for the conquest of power throughout the country, for the Strategic Plan of Construction. Political bases for the refoundation, in the same way we propose ideological-political foundations, economic foundations.

This was also developed in internal struggle to establish those ideological-political bases, but we took a very important step, we defeated “Left”-liquidationism. And we entered ‘76 and there we saw that the Party had a General Political Line, that was when we published “Retake Mariátegui and Refound His Party”, *Red Flag* no. 45 with the same title, there is a compilation of very important documents, because they were not known, apart from the fact that there was the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee, “Impulse the

refoundation”, that is what the documentation served to support this impulse and that developed the political situation of the Party. Pay attention to its editorial because it explains the path. Not only to retake Mariátegui but also to develop him, that was the criterion from the beginning. We have already fought, we have a ideological-political document, then we begin to promote the refoundation, again a parallel between ideological-political and organizational development.

Year ‘75. *People’s Voice* no. 5 It is an important document on bureaucrat-capitalism. In the year ‘76 Allpa May ‘69 report “Programme and Tasks”. Document of the Convention of peasants of Ayacucho is reprinted again. The peasant problem was key in the struggle against Paredes who proposed expropriation while ours is to confiscate, that is where it was raised. It was reprinted because “left”-liquidationism, Montañez, proposed doing peasant work with existing peasant organizations in Lima, vindication and criteria of the Inca Empire.

In May ‘69 the Party proposed that a new agrarian law was coming and that the road of bureaucrat-capitalism was the only one that could be followed. The law was passed on 24.06.1969. But what happened between May and June ‘69? Some time before the Party had created the People’s Defense Front of Ayacucho (PDFA), it was an agreement of the Secretariat of that time; the support of the Front was the neighborhoods, and the congress of neighborhoods and shantytowns in Ayacucho was carried out by the Party; it had its antecedents in the struggles for the defense of the university funds. In Ayacucho we had forces and we took advantage of that struggle for the University with the Federation of Neighborhoods. This Front led by the Party is going to develop the struggle against D.S. 06 on the problem of education; and the center of this struggle has been Ayacucho, from there the Revolutionary Front of Secondary School Students (RFSSS) has emerged, this movement has been growing and many young people have been commissioned to different provinces, they go to Huanta, Cangallo, Huancayo, Fajardo, Huancavelica, Apurímac, the struggle for education supported by the people and led by the Party achieved a great victory and dealt its first defeat to the fascist regime. Now they want to traffic, what the liquidationists sought was to abort the struggle and undermine the Party. The source of that traffic is Aracelio Castillo. Now where are the liquidationists? We are conquering power.

Research Plan. July 1977. Investigation of peasant labor. This is how we are advancing. There are already foundations of Mariátegui’s line and the situation is developed, we have the base of the refoundation in ‘73, in ‘75 we

promote the refoundation and in '76 a process of assembling, of developing the work in Lima begins (Lima was the base that served to assemble the Party at national level, each thing in its place). Because there was an ideological-political base, there was already Mariátegui's line, then came the development, we took the problem of the construction, it was extended to a national level, it can be seen in the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee.

6th Plenum of the Central Committee, Dec. '76 was one of the most violent sessions we have had, but we advanced quite a lot. In the central report in the third part of the outline of the session "Report on Construction" was presented, which had six parts: Marxism and construction, construction in the country and the path of Mariátegui; the problem of construction; generated organizations; problems of the internal struggle and current tasks of construction. Co-report on guidelines for the Department of Organization, there are 9 points that it deals with: The Leadership is always key. Among the agreements is to convene the 7th Plenum to deal with the National Plan of Construction, since it was not possible to advance further due to the internal struggle.

After this process that begins with the 2nd Plenum, 3rd Plenum, documents of '75, we focus on the organizational construction but there are moments in which the construction becomes a basic substantive issue to raise to the level of political leadership.

7th PLENUM. April '77: "On the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPP", previous document to prepare the event. Political Bureau. It deals with "The internal struggle and the construction" in the 6th Plenum the internal struggle broke out, there was a Right deviation in the countryside and in the city. "Current problems of construction" and "7th Plenum of the Central Committee. 7th Plenum should have as its guideline 'To construct serving the armed struggle'. Contents of the Plenum". It has said what the guideline is, where the Plenum should aim at, construction becomes the substantive issue at certain moments.

7th PLENUM. May '77: "Develop the construction, mainly of the Party, serving the armed struggle!" Plenum Document. Part 1. There in the preliminary report in point 3. "Road to follow: National Plan of Construction Serving the Armed Struggle"; in Part 3. "Develop the construction, mainly of the Party, serving the armed struggle"; it is the central part; in its point 5. "Work Plan."

In this document we have transcribed annotations of the Permanent Committee in the debate and there various ideas are put forward. For example: "Construction work has to give struggle against revisionism?" or "the problem of construction is little dealt with, why?", are very useful questions to direct an

event, it is a good habit, it would be good to think that the Political Bureau applies this system to the side to put annotations, questions, what points to highlight, to develop, it serves to contribute more. This summary is very good and should be summarized again, see page 5 of the document, there it is stated: two lines, opposite line in organization already begins to be outlined, it will be developed and then lines will be presented in other fronts, it is being designed in the background. So that another '68 does not happen: split, the line is antagonistic, it has to be dismantled. In the 6th Plenum an opposing line was presented in the peasant problem, an opposing line is already being developed in construction, as the fronts develop, opposing lines will be designated and in the background of all this there is an underlying opposing political line and a bourgeois and petty-bourgeois conception. We are liquidating liquidationism to develop a two-line struggle against revisionism as the main danger. What is the situation today? 4th Agreement: National Plan of Construction and Outline of the Plan of Construction.

In Part 2. Marxism and construction and the 26 problems of construction. The National Plan of Construction, in spite of being approved, was a problem because it had to be applied, so it can happen to us today.

Part 3. National Plan of Construction. It has 16 points ranging from the ideology to the organizational goal to be achieved. Part 4. Work Plan. General and specific tasks, guidelines. The 7th Plenum has several documents, they are materials that serve as a foundation, these construction problems demand this type of documentation.

Red Flag no. 46. Page 19: "On the construction of the Party". It is a very important document, to take it into account, it will be useful for us. *Red Flag* no. 47-48: Declaration of the VI and VII Plenum of the Central Committee. "Develop the construction, mainly of the Party, serving the armed struggle." It is extremely important, it is key because it orients the struggle, defines situations, poses conditions on how to build, based on the masses, guided by politics, it ends in the great framework of how to see the ideology.

In '77 clear bases are laid down on how to develop the construction. We are going to enter the struggle, how to develop the construction. The 8th Plenum is very important. Let us remember that a series of works have been developed on the organizations generated and this work is closely linked to the work of the Metropolitan Committee, analyzing the documents of the National Committee we can find good experience. There is also an important event, the meeting of organizations generated at the national level, there are also documents on this, it can be very useful for the work of the masses and how to

promote the construction plan linked to the masses. Remember the celebration of the National Cadre School in June '77, after the 7th Plenum that School served to prepare the contingent that had to move to the national level.

The 8th Plenum is of great importance and gives us good lessons. It is important to highlight the works that were developed in political meetings a year before the event, also here construction problems are dealt with; also see the works of the Propaganda and Front Departments in relation to construction; the work of Propaganda is indispensable, in this case it plays an important role in the documentation and also Front is an instrument that we should develop; it is important to see what we highlight about Front work linked to the masses.

Meeting of the Enlarged Political Bureau. September 1977. Here the 5th Congress was prepared. What we are interested in highlighting in terms of construction is what is in the agreements of that meeting. When presenting the draft plan of the 5th Congress, in point 2 it is stated: To complete the refoundation and lay the foundations to develop the armed struggle. To construct serving the armed struggle. The second is of greater importance "To lay the foundations to develop the armed struggle", because the problem of culminating should be specified in laying the foundations to develop the armed struggle, because the Party is for the conquest of Power and being the Party refounded, the armed struggle should begin, thus the relation is established: to lay the foundations for a new period to develop the armed struggle. One period has ended, another must begin: the armed struggle. That is why it is so important.

To culminate and lay the foundations will tremendously sharpen the struggle because it implies making a qualitative leap of great importance. The Comrades who moved after that School were reunited in November '77 and a balance of the construction was carried out. Here the main point is in point 2: Application of the National Plan of Construction, it states that the National Plan of Construction must be followed, that construction is the problem of developing the Party, the United Front and the Armed Struggle. Guideline for Regional Committees: To build serving the INITIATION THE ARMED STRUGGLE and towards the Support Bases. In this sense the Regional Committees are conceived of.

In the meeting of the Political Bureau it is said to lay the foundations for the armed struggle but here it says Initiate and that requires setting time and this is going to sharpen the struggle even more. It is also important how the question of the zones is seen, to pay attention to the peculiarities of each zone, to see today also the differentiation of the zones. It says organized zones and

then zones in organization and when proposing zones in organization differentiate zones for initiating work, zones with initial work with zones with previous work. To develop zones to support national construction means that the organized zones must be developed and this must be supported by the entire national system. In the zones in organization develop regional construction as a basis for national construction. It is a good specification to serve the National Plan of Construction. The guideline for cities is also raised: To construct serving to support the Initiation of the Armed Struggle and to develop the accumulation of forces. Obviously this is also a cause for struggle because some Comrades thought that the cities were left out. The rural-urban outline is not yet proposed, but it is important because it links the city; it proposes to support the accumulation of forces because it has a final course which is the insurrection. It proposes peasant work as the basis for construction. Countryside and city. The problem of the Outline is brewing.

The reference point: National Plan of Construction and 5-year period. What it does is to establish a relationship between the Plan of Construction and the 5-year period. This is November '77, '80 started within the established period.

Lesson: Construction-War-Period. A deep and foresighted analysis of the plan that has a period within which the beginning had to take place. Today we are entering another period, it also requires a deep and foresighted analysis plan for a period for the Conquest of Power with a lot of flexibility according to the intervention of imperialism, but that does not mean that there should not be a period. When a period is proposed, one is prepared for when the situation arises.

Something about the National Cadre School. It is an important lesson because you have to prepare cadres, contingent, mainly cadres. Now also forging cadres is part of three bases and three guides. Eight themes were developed. This school is for construction.

In "On the United Front and Construction". The problem of tactics is key to the line, it has to do with which classes are grouped and the debate was about which tactic to apply, which classes to agglutinate. We concluded that the line of the Party, that of Mariátegui defined a Front line that implied uniting up to the middle bourgeoisie or national bourgeoisie but under the leadership of the proletariat and its Party. This line was abandoned, a grave error that was corrected in the 5th National Conference of 1965 where we reached the conclusion that the problem is to unite four classes based on the worker-peasant alliance, the petty bourgeoisie is united and that is the constant trunk of the

United Front in the revolution, while the national bourgeoisie is fluctuating until at some point it joins the revolution.

The opportunist practice has supported the big bourgeoisie or a faction of it, claiming that it was supporting the middle or national bourgeoisie, that is the question of the deviation in the problem of the front, a Right deviation that has been going on since the 1930s. If one looks at the 4th National Conference of 1962, there was support for the faction of the big bourgeoisie which promoted industrialization. This is the most important debate we had in terms of the Front. Tactical key question of the line. It is the problem of the application of the line in a period of the revolution within the strategy of the revolution, within the character of the revolution, but any tactical variation there may be cannot go against the character of the revolution, to support the enemies of the revolution. Taking into account strategy, period there can be variations in strategy and tactics if the character of the revolution changes within the democratic revolution, there the problem is to manage the contradictions within the big bourgeoisie insofar as in the big bourgeoisie there are factions linked to imperialism that fight for hegemony. It is a problem that we would have to analyze in the event of direct or indirect intervention of imperialism, of the United States. It is a key problem.

They raised many questions such as “would imperialism intervene?”. In the background is the question of not seeing the role of imperialism, of aggressor, that in the world there are oppressed nations and aggressor States that seek to divide up the world as booty, the problem of Cuba is exceptional. We state that imperialism always intervenes directly or indirectly, the facts are showing that if it cannot intervene directly or indirectly because the situation does not favor them, they resort to all means to crush the government that does not suit them. Thus we see that there are questions of substance when the question of United Front is raised. “Fluctuating national bourgeoisie?” “Does it mean that it puts itself on the margin or in the middle?” It is not like that, it does not put itself on the margin or in the middle, it means that it puts itself on the tail of the reaction or it puts itself on the side of the revolution. These things have to do with a long Right frontist tradition in the country.

From the debates we arrive at what line is key for construction.

Another question “Is Mariátegui developed or not?” We were talking about construction and there arises [...] political world outlook, it is to strike politically against the development of the line. From there comes this conclusion: It was not only to remain in refoundation, to wait for it to be completed,

but also to oppose the refoundation itself because it has been developed on the basis of the developed line.

In organizational matters, open work and secret work; the main opposition to the culmination of the refoundation is to focus on the masses, on the generated organizations. The secret work is the main one, it is to oppose the construction of the Party. It is aimed at denying the Party. Denial of the Party is to aim at destroying it, in service to whom? do you want another type of Party? if you do not want the Communist Party, it would have to be of another type.

The problem is ideological line, when dealing with problems of construction and deepening, the line jumps because it is the base. The theory of the great leaders is also debated. Do they question everyone?

To replace them with bureaucratism, revisionism. That is Right-opportunist line in organization after opportunist political line. Problems of vindictiveness, problems arise linked to everyday politics “is State monopoly better than non-State monopoly?” The problem is that they are monopolies.

All this shows us that at the bottom of organizational problems there is a question of ideological-political line. It leads us to two questions to be solved: characteristics of the opposing line in construction, opportunist line in organization and how to develop the construction.

Meeting with the Propaganda Department.

Do not pay attention to the construction. It jumps in propaganda because it has to spread the conception, the line, the policy. Is it necessary for every militant to comply with the 6th and 7th Plenums? Indispensable and peremptory, especially if some begin to crash against these Plenums. Stalin’s quote on the dangerous turn for those who are not firmly adhered to the Party’s bandwagon. As the whole Party, propaganda also has to move in function of the political line, to culminate the refoundation, also in propaganda to apply the National Plan of Construction, the period is very important because it is to construct to initiate the armed struggle.

The National Plan of Construction will be developed in struggle with the old plan which is known, including with the transition plan which we are making as a pilot plan and this pilot plan, while it is new, is fought against while it is old, it is accepted. This transition plan is successful, although the new predominates, it drags part of the old, some want to stay in the transitory. The old will be strengthened in its tendency to survive by the weight of the tradition of the consecrated forms of organization and struggle, not forgetting the colossal

pile of garbage. The new plan will impose itself, the new always imposes itself in struggle.

The Propaganda Department itself agreed on a new national plan for the construction of the Propaganda Department. All the apparatuses have to be adjusted. Lesson: a Department or any apparatus has to adjust and have its own National Plan of Construction. It shows us how the apparatus must serve the National Plan of Construction, otherwise it cannot fulfill its task.

Summary of construction.

Why in the 6th Plenum did the contrary line in the peasant movement emerge as a basic question? The 6th Plenum pointed to the National Plan of Construction, because the base of our construction work is the peasant work, important, the peasantry is the main force, the revolution depends on its location? The struggle would be based on the peasant question? Yes, and this is a basic question of the refoundation of the Party, of the culmination and laying of bases. What has been the basis of the most important struggles within the Party? All of them had, have and will continue to have as a base the peasant question. Rich. Today with the problem of the war, the war is based on the peasantry, it is the same.

Construction. Unequal development is a law. Generalize and differentiate. Generalize for the whole country and differentiate for the regions, within each region also equal, in a zonal, in a Department equal. Not to grasp firmly has a root: to have a contrary line, consequently one neither wants nor can grasp firmly. The problem is the greater or lesser degree. There is a circumstance because it arises that there is a contrary line.

Organization. Open work and secret work. How is the United Front, the armed struggle and the Party concretized today? What is the relationship between them? Refoundation of the Party from the countryside, to lay the base of the construction work in the countryside to follow the road to encircle the cities from the countryside to apply the line. The Party, the Army, the United Front, power, the Party is concretized according to the way it is applied. Party. Two aspects: one, Right (revisionism); two, Left (Line of Mariátegui and its development). Whether one aspect or the other predominates is decisive. The Left predominates.

Magnificent relationship. Thus it could be stated: contrary world outlook implies contrary line, implies contrary tactics, implies contrary organizational line, implies contrary plan of construction, implies contrary work plan. This in relation to the Party, the same in Front, in Armed Struggle, in Mass Work, etc, etc. In everything. In the case of the Right it is the opposite of this:

Marxist world outlook implies General Political Line, implies Marxist tactics, implies organizational line to conquer power, implies plan of construction, implies work plan, implies conquering power. The Left predominates, that is why we are advancing.

Reflection: What is the 5-year plan for? to concretize the National Plan of Construction, to construct in order to initiate the armed struggle. This is the period, if you are prepared, if the occasion presents itself you conquer power, if not you will continue dreaming.

Summary of the Front Department.

How the Front develops within the National Plan of Construction and how it has to reorganize itself.

United Front and General Political Line: National-Democratic Revolution. To develop and forge itself within the General Political Line. What is the tendency of the Front that has predominated in the country? If we do not take the United Front according to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and the Line of Mariátegui and its development, the opportunist line of the Front will continue to be imposed, consequently we will fall in line with the big bourgeoisie. Fully valid, today we are faced with this. Peasant process, tactics. The question is to capitulate before the big bourgeoisie or to ally with the poor peasantry mainly for the worker-peasant alliance to guarantee the hegemony of the proletariat and develop the road. Struggle for daily demands serving power, concretization of Marxist thesis, power is the central problem.

National Plan of Generated Organizations. Development of the generated organizations, course and role, ideological-political development, principles and programme, organizational construction, leaderships, national construction, mass work, conferences, events, propaganda. It concludes with how to develop the generated organizations. It was a very important meeting. Today we have power and these things to keep in mind, it is a good basis to work on. The different mass fronts are specified: five fronts and generated organizations and their avoidance is part of the avoidance of the mass work.

Circular March '78.

The problems began to become more acute. The Party distributed a circular to the rank and file in March '78, it states that all the work has to be developed in the concrete and daily class struggle, thus serving the initiation of the armed struggle, to initiate was the high point, that is where to aim.

Circular to the rank and file June '78, both signed by the Organization Department, this Department is in charge of seeing how the organization is doing, from politics to organizational problems. In this circular it warns that in

spite of the agreement a tendency to deviation is developing to structure itself, it is an unstructured tendency, if it were to structure itself it would be a contrary line and calls to transform itself to serve the revolution and fight against revisionism.

This is the responsibility of the Department of Organization, the function of the circulars. What the Party has ordered, what problems there are and how to correct them.

In this way the Left was laying the foundations.

8TH PLENUM, July '78.

The Party was on the verge of a split in which 2/3 of the Central Committee hesitated. 1/3 maintained a firm position, in a shrewd and forceful struggle imposed conditions and set the course and overcame the difficult situation in which we were going through.

July 11th. Balance of four parts of the construction. Political ideological construction, organizational construction and on the construction of class struggle in the masses. On July 13th, intervention of the Leadership states that the 5th Congress cannot be held on the scheduled date. On 14.07.1978 the fourth part of the summary of the construction is seen: On the construction and the two-line struggle.

The Leadership synthesized the five problems that were presented: 1) In the ideological: armed struggle as concretion of violence; 2) In the political: General Political Line and its development; 3) In the organizational: To develop the construction serving the armed struggle taking as a base the peasant problem; 4) In the class struggle of the masses, to raise the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat represented by the Party and 5) two-line struggle, to avoid the perspective of structuring, to correct deviation and sweep away revisionism. It is very good to establish differences: structuring, correct deviation and then sweep away revisionism, differentiate so that a clear position is taken.

The Leadership insists on the problem of the construction and concession of the National Plan of Construction and criticizes Anarchist and Anarcho-Socialist criteria. The meeting begins to enter into difficulties, begins to enter into pessimism.

On 22.07.1978 previous questions are raised, the need to rethink the content of the 8th Enlarged Plenum is raised and as content "to construct serving the armed struggle" and "to develop the construction mainly of the Party in the class struggle of the masses", these are two slogans sanctioned by the 6th and 7th Plenum; it was clearly stated that they are against the 6th and 7th Plenum.

Agenda: 1) International situation; 2) Economic situation and period of 4 to 5 years, the problem is to initiate; 3) Political situation and period, the problem was to move in the period; 4) Summary of the Refoundation. Rich! A Leadership cannot abandon its goals, that is why they are leaders; point 5) Summary of the Plan of Construction and point 6) 5th Congress. Measures and tasks. Here it is defined; the game is very simple, they have been put in the situation of whether or not to go against the Plenums, then where would they go back to? each one starts to think.

On July 23rd, the Leadership presented a report on Construction, based on the principles of construction established by Chairman Mao, Lenin, Stalin, an important point is about the construction plan and contradictions, the balance of the refoundation was raised. In point 3 of the Plan of Construction for the armed struggle. OUTLINE FOR THE ARMED STRUGGLE: countryside-city is developed. Main countryside, complementary city. How it is defined and 5 questions.

On July 25th, the Leadership states that the majority are Leftists and want revolution. It is very good to be seen and reflect the reality. Debate. Intervention of the Leadership and states that in the background of the prolongation of the preparatory school it is believed that the Right is advancing, background, questioning of the General Political Line and its development, questioning of the Party and gives an offensive based on what Chairman Mao states about the struggle in Volume 5. Lunge on the basis of principles.

On July 26th, the Leadership raises the question "Is there a Leftist line?", analyzes and summons 11 members of the Central Committee on semi-feudalism, plans, sector, methods, attitudes and clashes, divergences in the circular. Position of adherants, let two tigers fight and see what happens (they had intellectual provenance). First the fight against Anarchists, then against adherants. The Leadership warned that the 8th Plenum is in danger. Background, it is believed that we are ultra-leftists; a dam was produced, convergences. Bottom of the dam, "they are about to repeat another '68". Solution: to apply the plan of the 6th Plenum, it said that the Party had an objective and that the Party fulfilled it with those who wanted and were able to do it, basically a split. The Leadership establishes a relationship between the Rightist line of the countryside and the city; they have to come together, the waters must collide and the two poles must be put together, otherwise the antagonistic struggle cannot develop. We have to make them see their connections so that they enter into polarization.

On July 27th the method of taking the course of their ideas and of the Party documents is applied, it is shown that they are throwing themselves against Party documents. Background? Rotten revisionism; therefore it is suggested that so and so is ultra-left and imposes his line, this is seen in the ideas presented in the national summary of construction of 77 “only Gonzalo”, “there is great difference between Gonzalo and us”; they go for wool and come out shorn, facing what they say they are told that the background is revisionism. What did this event lead to?

On July 29th, the Leadership intervenes and proposes that there has to be a purge and for this there must be a Control Commission; a close relationship is established between: Leadership and General Political Line and its development, therefore as they oppose the Leadership they oppose the General Political Line and its development they oppose the Leadership, so it is a problem of opposition to the line. Consequently, here we are debating the line, never allowing ourselves to be boxed in the problem of Leadership, errors of the leaders is another thing. All this will lead to purification and that there be a new Central Committee, to resolve in the facts a head to lead the Party, every revolution has it. Thus it is a problem of line, Leadership and of defining the head. Incident, duplicity is produced, acting in one way in the event and in another way outside of it. The bottom line of the incident is to group. Whoever believes in a line must strive to impose it.

The Leadership asks for an opinion, proposes the selection of a Leadership for the struggle to unfold, the event should decide whether or not to change the Leadership; it was ratified and it was shown that there is no desire to change the Leadership.

On July 30th and 31st, the Leadership states that the problem is to form public opinion against the alleged ultra-left line and it is charged that whoever leads should head it, that in the internal struggle it is nominated, it is personalized and cowardice is not allowed. In what situation is the struggle? It is defined in position in front of the outline of the armed struggle, they are because they enter or not to the armed struggle; without establishing the development of the General Political Line there is no head of the Party.

Regarding the alleged “Left” line, it criticized the adherent members and summoned the Central Committee to criticize them and called for a separation with revisionism. In short, it is symptomatic that they target members of the Central Committee who carry out work, while those who do not work were not told anything, shameful. 1/3 of the Central Committee complies with the

tasks and calls for the 2/3 colluding to expel the third. They did not know what to do; deep down they were afraid of what was to come.

On August 1st, the Leadership proposed:

1) Let us subject ourselves to Marxism; 2) See decisive moments of the Parties and 3) The Party begins to define its destiny. Thus the meeting begins to advance and develop.

August 2nd. Two lines and split plan; the Leadership synthesizes from the 5th Conference and asks: Who wants to split? For a Communist, it can have serious errors but to split? The Comrades came to their senses, we concluded that there is no split. It was the most complex moment that the Party had in this process of refoundation, on the verge of splitting but after an intense struggle we recovered unity, why? Because of the firm position of 1/3 of the Central Committee in a hard and demolishing struggle, no stone can be left unturned, only in this way we avoided a split: Chairman Mao tells us that we must let them cross the line, then the Communists begin to reconsider. We enter into cohesion:

1) International situation, 2) Political situation. Period. Our problem is how to specify in the 3rd Moment.

On August 5th, the Leadership raises: the political question is the problem of the OUTLINE FOR ARMED STRUGGLE, that is the center and axis on economic, political situation and period and there is nothing to discuss but to define itself. It has been approved unanimously. Our Party is a Party.

It is concluded that there is a structured counter-line, that this line is being developed. There is a contrary line that has been revealed, to see the bitter truth head on as Lenin said. Two syntheses: 1) How the struggle is developing and 2) Pay attention and be careful in selecting the Central Committee.

We go on to analyze the international experience of the armed struggle; the bases, the foundations of the Outline to unite us; experience of China, Albania, Algeria; the problem of the class struggle for power is the question of mass work. The road is to raise the peasantry. We analyzed the rebellion of Túpac Amaru and its magnificent lessons; guerrillas of '65 of the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR). The problem was concentrated on these: how to raise the peasantry under the leadership of the Party of the proletariat. Process of the peasantry, warlordism, gamonalism, myths of the peasantry. Concern for the history of Peru.

On August 11th, a year of application of the National Plan of Construction was analyzed in contradiction. To apply the outline of the armed struggle

was to initiate the armed struggle to destroy the old order and build the new order, the opposite line was to sustain the old order by evolving it.

Contradiction, international, flag of the world revolution, the other flag of the superpowers. Politically: Outline of armed struggle, power, raise the peasantry led by the Party, contradiction follow the big bourgeoisie. National Plan of Construction: against the 6th Plenum plan change line. Balance culminate refoundation, lay foundations, sanction the General Political Line and its development and sweep away revisionist line against opposing to culminate, they brand the line as “Left” aiming to replace it with a revisionist line. It is good method of contradictions, so we know what to follow and what to fight. It is good experience of the Party.

August 12th. The Leadership proposes that to instruct the cadres on the base of errors is a good method. It is not a simple problem but a complex one, we had already solved a thorny problem because a problem of this type had led us to the split in 1968. Knowing how to treat the militancy, the cadres and the leaders, once the error is recognized, giving a hand to move forward.

On August 13th, conclusion: 1) Key to define and sanction the General Political Line and its development and 2) Let us define in practice the term of the refoundation and lay the foundations for the armed struggle without waiting for an event.

All this shows us that after establishing a whole political base, when we enter to concretize the National Plan of Construction it is done in intense struggle; the approval in struggle, the application continues in struggle: the old resists, after all, two-line struggle and ideological and political problem; it is necessary a firm and well directed struggle so that the Party advances and the Central Committee is key in that because it is the center of the Party. If one part stands firm it imposes.

Thus line, struggle, organizational problems, plan, competition to apply the plan, we have a scheme. The struggle does not end, it continues.

Work Session of the Central Committee. December ‘78. The Political Bureau puts forward its position on: 1) Construction of the Party at national level, destroy what was built with opportunist line and overcome what is obsolete, useless; 2) Course of the organizational line. a. Refoundation; b. To initiate the armed struggle; c. Laying the foundations. Achievements and problems; 3) The perspective of the organizational line and the decade of the ‘80s. Very important. To take into account when the Party has established the organizational line, it is proposed to see the perspective within the decade of the ‘80s, critical period, to handle the problem of the crisis that every second five-year period

appears in a more acute form. Chairman Mao has taught us that when we build we must see the long years to come, every time we have not acted in this way we have made serious mistakes. Now think about the decade of the '90s and if it is possible to see the 3rd Millennium. 4) Five points for the application of the scheme; 5) Ideological-political construction, Programme, line, tactics, organizational construction, construction problems; 6) Statutes; 7) National Plan of Construction. On mass work two paths, two initiatives. Parliamentary cretinism, economic background, bureaucrat-capitalism. Labor movement, its role. Peasantry. Period: elections, overflow. Decade of the '80s. Readjustment of the Party to the 8th Plenum.

Thus construction and mass work, long periods, how historical processes are conceived, period. Two decades, see long perspective. Plan for the conquest of power today and that has to do with how we make the State, with how to advance in socialism.

Debate. The meeting develops without seeing the other hill, not because we have united the struggle stops. Claiming the Party hill, the other is not, it belongs to reaction, it is a black hill, the struggle continues because classes exist. The leadership calls to assault the black hill and beat it, to demand the surrender of the black hill, to the two heads and destroy the hill.

Lesson: Assault and destroy the capitulationist hill. This was in the Right-opportunist line (ROL), it is not the current case, but the law is general, that is why we act in class struggle. The triumph is complete: One Party hill.

Page 409 of the "Faction Documents" plan that we already had is going to conform to the 8th Plenum and the Outline, five issues are specified for the application of the Outline. Lesson: In the problem of the People's War, we should ask ourselves what our laws are and establish the Outline for the Conquest of Power, because we have peculiarities.

Page 411. The 9th Plenum is summoned, new phase of struggle and opposition to the reorganization, trapped because the majority of the Political Bureau chose the distribution of the Committees according to their personal interests. The objective was set: General reorganization of the Party. Page 412 General Report, part 2. The Central Committee goes on to apply the general reorganization of the Party, it was proposed how to reorganize the Party, specifications of the Political Bureau: 1) General reorganization; 2) Intense organizational period; 3) Clandestinity, 4) Displacement and distribution. Carry out reorganization immediately.

Meeting of the Political Bureau. Summarizes debate, specifies new phase of struggle and had to be linked to the general reorganization of the Party.

Debate (p. 413) analyze political roots of new phase, reorganization and how everyone participates in the new phase. Two members of the Political Bureau generate problems trying to revoke the existence of the new phase, the problem is disagreement with line. Previous problem to solve the struggle, the problem was distribution. Need for Enlarged Central Committee, to enlarge the Central Committee. New phase of struggle was being denied, difficult prospect. (pg. 413) Ayacucho Local Committee has become ROL base to throw itself against the Leadership. Two members of the Central Committee want to advance and two heads come together. Plan of the 6th Plenum to commit not to split but also to split, if 10% remained it would go ahead. (p. 414) “two antagonistic lines are contending”.

Another Central Committee meeting. Although there has been a breakthrough in the situation but it is not defined. See new phase; see correlation of forces in the Central Committee and the whole Party organization. The situation is entering a split situation, things are getting worse. Quote from Marx: in moments of crisis, to lose one's head is a crime against the Party. (Page 415) course of the struggle against the ROL and the new phase. New phase in the whole Party, it is generalized: Two courses, two programmes, two lines, two plans, two leaderships and two contingents contend in the general reorganization. Generalization and differences, 24.01.1979. From there derives hills, fief of Ayacucho, fief of Cuzco, fief of Lima. Situation and distribution of forces. Strategic plan, situation and distribution of the two lines. It means that the Directorate has to see which positions are controlled or can be controlled. Strategic Plan of the Party line. Develop own forces, etc. Tactics: fight those who oppose the General Political Line and its development, mainly leaders in the new phase of struggle for the general reorganization of the Party. To advance 90% including cadres and leaders. Particularity, only through a process of struggle will the reorganization of the Party take place. “The line of the Party will win. The opposite line and its defeat.” The split and its capitulation. Contradiction camouflage and accumulate forces, do not allow accumulation, so that they do not split unmask them. Purge (us) and evacuate (they leave little by little): split and camouflage, some split, the heads seek to split and others remain inside camouflaged. Measures to be taken. Implement a reorganization plan. It is a whole plan of how the two-line struggle has developed, to see that each meeting has its own law. It is a valuable lesson we have.

ON THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM¹⁴

1991

1. QUOTATIONS

A. MARX: “THE CLASS STRUGGLES IN FRANCE, 1848-50”

Marx describes the situation in which the peasantry develops; to study and differentiate well, he speaks here of a capitalist process of development following a triumphant bourgeois-democratic revolution, when the bourgeoisie was revolutionary and fought feudalism; he deals with the case of the French Revolution of 1789. What is important here is how the peasantry moves in those capitalist conditions, when the bourgeois State reigns. Marx said **“the peasant population, more than 2/3 of the total population of France, is composed for the most part of the supposedly free landowners”**. In spite of all the misrepresentations of the statistics in Peru, more or less that is the proportion of people linked to agricultural work and, precisely the latest analyses of the agricultural population are expressing an increase of small landowners to whom much importance is being given in the current government, in the current process of the old Peruvian State.

He says: **“the first generation freed of feudal burdens had paid nothing for the land”**. The situation in Peru is different, here in the first place there has not been a bourgeois revolution, the bourgeoisie was not capable of leading it in its historical moment, when it was revolutionary; today, since the 17th Century in which its era of world revolution opened, the bourgeoisie has become an outdated and incapable class and only the proletariat is capable of leading the democratic revolutions that destroy feudalism, in addition to the socialist and cultural revolutions; therefore, there was no bourgeois revolution of the old type. But, the Peruvian reaction, at the service of imperialism, has developed and continues to develop the bureaucratic path, it takes bureaucrat-capitalism to the countryside and applies the evolution of semi-feudalism. Part of this process is the application of its three agrarian laws, in particular, of the

¹⁴ Extracted from the Preparatory Session of the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee. Pages 92-105.

so-called “agrarian reform law” which is nothing more than another law for the purchase and sale of land and which has not destroyed semi-feudalism but has evolved it, what we see today is a consequence of this purchase and sale of land, the associative forms that arose from this “agrarian reform” are being parceled out and thus, then, situations similar to those dealt with by Marx arise. For example, he goes on to say: **“the following generations paid in the form of land prices what their serf ancestors had paid in the form of rents, tithes, personal benefits”**; what interests us is that here there was buying and selling. It is also necessary to differentiate that the peasants under the feudal regime pay for the land with serfdom, in the thousand forms in which serfdom is presented; and, in the capitalist system, the peasants pay for the land in money, under the form of price.

“From this basis, henceforth, the more the population grew, the more the distribution of land became more accentuated, the more expensive the price of the plot.” Here they want to form a rural market, the lands are being parceled, the peasant population increases; what does this generate? an increase in the price of the land and this aggravates the people because the peasantry has to pay more for the land. He continues, **“but in the same proportion in which the price went up and the peasantry paid for the land, the peasant’s indebtedness necessarily increased”**. He refers to the mortgage, what is taking shape in Peru, what is the big bourgeoisie, the banks, the State, the landowners seeking to impose, that the commercial banks should have facilities to give credits to the countryside and, under mortgage guarantee, take over the land and thus promote a new process of concentration to apply evolving forms of semi-feudalism.

The division of the land, the parcelization, leads to smallholding and this determines a setback in the cultivation of the soil because the possibility of applying new forms of agricultural production is restricted. On the plot, the whole family works until exhaustion, a great labor force is invested, but the net product decreases progressively with the increase of the gross product. The same applies to micro and small production, as we have analyzed above, the more gross consumption the less net consumption and nobody escapes from this law, but this is optimal for imperialism because it buys at lower cost, exploiting immensely. This phenomenon in the countryside, also has repercussions against the proletariat because the countryside has to consume less, production has to go down, the wages of the workers are reduced and there is much room for unemployment. In another text, Marx tells us that small property is condemned by history.

The text continues: **“Agriculture, in the same measure in which the population increases and in it the division of the soil, the instrument of production, the land, becomes more expensive and its fertility diminishes and in the same measure agriculture declines and the peasant is burdened with debts.”** This is extraordinary. The population increases in Peru, the land is divided and becomes more expensive; but what is the result of all this? This process decreases the fertility of the land and, consequently, agriculture declines, and as a complement, the peasant is burdened with debts, land mortgages are introduced and in this way the bankers or usurers take away their land, the peasant loses his land. The phenomenon described by Marx is presented, everything is concatenated and we must, therefore, unmask it and establish a specific policy.

“Each generation leaves the other generation more indebted, each new generation begins in more unfavorable conditions.” Isn't this seen in the cycle of production of imperialism in general? Do you remember the process of decline in decline of bureaucrat-capitalism that we studied in the Congress, in the 3rd Session? In the capitalist system and also in imperialism cyclical crises are produced and this continues to rule in spite of the denials made by the big bourgeoisie; this thesis of Marx is valid and nobody can deny it, there has been nobody until today, nor will there ever be, who can demonstrate that cyclical crises are no longer produced in capitalism; what we have to see is how, after so many years since Marx founded his theory, it has been expressing specifications, how today the crises are presented. Well, there are cycles, but each cycle leads to a crisis, to a collapse and then expresses a recovery that starts from a lower point to then generate an expansion, a crisis and a stagnation that reaches a new point deeper than the previous one; and from there a new recovery starts again and the cycle continues, but always from a lower point.

“Mortgage begets new mortgage and when the peasant cannot find in his plot of land a guarantee to contract new debts he falls directly into the clutches of usury.” The mortgage is burdensome, if the mortgage is not paid the land is lost; then it is amortized with mortgage, one mortgage saves another mortgage, but it reaches a point where they can no longer use the mortgage, but as they have to pay they resort to the usurer who charges much higher interest; the peasants jump from Guatemala to Guatemala, to flee the fire they fall into the fire.

Marx says: **“And thus a situation has been reached in which the French peasantry in the form of interest on mortgages on land, in the**

form of interest on the non-mortgage advances of the usurer, yields to the capitalist not only the rent of the soil, not only the industrial profit, not only the whole net profit, but even a part of the wage.” He no longer has to cede not only all his profit but he has to hand over part of what is his livelihood in order to maintain himself, that is to say, he has gone below the physical minimum of the wage. For historical reasons, it is possible to fall below the minimum physical value, then social compensation plans and philanthropy are applied; **“the peasant, the traditional settler was plunged into the humiliation of poverty and all under the pretext of being private owners”**. That is what afflicts the small farmers, that is what afflicts the smallholders; and in Peru it is being said that today the one that is going to develop the most is the system of landowners. Terrible perspective under the capitalist system, here in Peru under the development of bureaucrat-capitalism.

Marx also says the solution: **“The peasantry needs a red republic, it needs the dictatorship of the proletariat, it needs to unite with the proletariat to fight, only in this way can it find a true historical destiny.”** (The above quotation begins **“the peasant population [...]”** p. 201 and ends **“private owners”** p. 212.)

Marx says: **“It is easy to understand the situation in which the French peasants found themselves when the republic added to the old burdens new ones”, “the exploiter is the same, capital, undoubtedly the capitalists exploit the peasants by means of mortgages and usury. The capitalist class exploits the peasant class by means of State taxes.”** He is describing to us in what the exploitation consists, to see the difference, in one way it is exploited: as an organized class the bourgeoisie exploits it through the State by means of taxes; and as capitalists, in the modalities of usury, of loan, of capital, of interest, those that are not paid are charged with the mortgage. And how does the landowner exploit it? Through rent. This is how semi-feudalism is differentiated.

Marx says: **“The property title of the peasant is the talisman with which capital has been fascinating him until now, the pretext used to whip him up against the industrial proletariat.”** Masterful! When Vargas Llosa presented himself as the exclusive representative of the comprador bourgeoisie, he said all Peruvian landowners; what are they specifically agitating today in the agrarian problem? Landownership; what is Fujimori raising for his plans in the Huallaga? Landownership, recognizing ownership through the issuing of titles; what is he agitating in general for the micro-enterprise, the small enterprise? Ownership. Today, given the circumstances of the supposed defeat

of Communism, of socialism, property is a talisman that shines with much demagoguery and that is yielding and can yield political dividends. That is why we must make them see, by moving real, concrete facts, how this is a talisman to counterpose the peasantry to the class.

Marx says: **“Only the fall of capital can raise the peasantry. Only a proletarian anti-capitalist government can put an end to their economic misery and social degradation. The constitutional republic is the dictatorship of the collateral exploiters, the social-democratic republic, the red republic is the dictatorship of their allies.”** Here it is a democratic revolution and the dictatorship it establishes is a joint dictatorship based on the worker-peasant alliance, it is not yet a dictatorship of the proletariat, that is the perspective, but the essence of things does not change.

Marx says a phrase that should be analyzed: **“And the balance rises or falls according to the votes that the peasantry deposits in the ballot box.”** The hegemony of the proletariat in the democratic revolution and not only in it but also in the socialist revolution has to do with the worker-peasant alliance, with the proletariat leading the peasantry, if the peasantry is tied to the tail of the bourgeoisie, the revolution is trapped.

Marx says: **“But those who spoke the most intelligent language were the very experience that the peasant struggle already had of the use of the right of suffrage and the disappointments that in the rapid revolutionary development were unloading blow after blow on its head.”** There is therefore propaganda of reaction and there is propaganda of the revolution that has to unmask everything; but in the end, the facts themselves, he says, the very experience of the peasant class that already had the use of the right of suffrage and the disappointments that in the rapid revolutionary development were unloading blow after blow on its head, spoke the most intelligible language, those blows that the peasantry receives make them understand better, faster and more directly. But this is an objective material fact but it does not exempt us from propaganda. He concludes with his great slogan **“revolutions are the locomotives of history”**.

B. MARX: “THE 18TH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS BONAPARTE”

He raises the problem of the peasantry as a class; on p. 318., Collected Works of Marx and Engels:

“Insofar as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence which distinguish them by their way of life, their interest and their culture, from other classes and oppose them to these in a

hostile way. The former form a class inasmuch as there exists among the peasants a purely local articulation but the identity of their interest engenders among them no community, no national union and no political organization, it does not form a class, they are therefore incapable of asserting their class interests in their own name, whether by means of a parliament or by means of a convention; nor can they represent themselves but must be represented, their representative must appear at the same time as a lord, as an authority above them as an unlimited power of government which protects them from the other classes and sends them rain and sunshine from on high; consequently, the political influence of the peasant farmers finds its ultimate expression in the fact that the executive power brings society under its command.”

It is a class because of objective conditions, it is a class in itself, it exists as a reality because of common interests, but it is not a class for itself, inasmuch as it is not politically conscious or organized to defend its own interests and that is why it looks for someone to represent it. Well, the government is the one that has, for concrete reasons of the social process, the means to appear in this way, to present itself demagogically in this way and this gives the peasantry room to be tied to the tail of reaction and can be used, manipulated, maneuvered by the government, by the Executive; that is why the various reactionary States propose themselves as defenders of the peasantry, they say they will benefit, protect, defend it, an example of this is Morales Bermudez. Even today we see how the government tries to play with the interests of the farmers, with the talisman of the property title.

In Peru, specifically, there is no peasant party, it does not exist; there is a certain degree of peasant organization but those who command these organizations are trade union bureaucracies, bourgeois, revisionists, opportunists, petty-bourgeois who defend their own interests. This is not to belittle the peasantry, but it is to see it with the reality as it is. Do not forget what Lenin taught us, that the peasantry is petty bourgeoisie and as such has no historical perspective, only the proletariat does; historically the peasants have never led a triumphant revolutionary movement. This is not to say that they have not fought, they have been doing so for centuries, they have fought valiantly, heroically and indeclinably, but they lack ideology. Their own condition of being scattered has entered them; they are one of the most exploited and oppressed parts of society, sunk in impoverishment, in deep misery, all of which weakens the peasantry even more, restricts and limits them. If the peasantry has advanced it is because

of the action of the proletariat, mainly only when it integrates an alliance with the proletariat.

The practical conclusion that we should draw, apart from the need to further develop the worker-peasant alliance, is to make them understand (that through action they draw the historical lesson and that they assimilate it consciously and that they become more involved in the People's War) that it is the People's Republic of Peru which will resolve the fundamental problem: the land, the basis and substantive question of the democratic revolution which resolves it for the benefit of the peasantry, mainly the poor.

Marx then discusses how the peasantry is divided in two, one part is for the revolution and the other against the revolution. A revolutionary peasantry that is the very essence and a conservative peasantry. The governments, the reactionary States that demagogically traffic in the interests of the peasantry and that claim to represent it only represent the conservative peasantry, never the revolutionary. Who does Fujimori represent? That conservative peasantry.

The first quote is on p. 318: "**Insofar as [...] serving society**", the second quote, "**But understand [...] modern trade**", pp. 322-324.

2. THE DECISIONS OF THE PARTY

In *People's Voice* no. 5, page 5, title "The problem of the agrarian law", the Party in 1969 stated its position regarding law 17716 and what we said there has been fulfilled; in general we must insist that the positions of the Party were attacked and today everyone recognizes and repeats the same, although, as could not be otherwise, now they want to interpret things again, as yesterday, at the service of the system.

We emphasized that this was not a law of agrarian reform, it was simply, like the two previous ones, a law for the sale and purchase of land, and therefore it could only develop an impulse of the evolution of semi-feudalism. We said that it was within the process of developing bureaucrat-capitalism; that the State would play a key role and was going to manage the whole process, it was going to act as a landowner for the benefit of the big bourgeoisie, particularly the bureaucratic one; it was part of its task of corporatively reorganizing Peruvian society and that it was developing within the need of imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism. All these things have been fulfilled from start to finish; it should serve us as an experience to make us understand that Marxism-

Leninism-Maoism allows us to understand reality in depth and transform it, if it is applied to it.

“The former Minister of Agriculture General Gallegos himself said on the occasion of the last June 24th: having already laid the foundations of the new structure, the process of agrarian reform must now aim at a single great objective, the integrated rural development of our country to make Peruvian socialism a reality.” Today we could ask ourselves: Where is Peruvian socialism? Didn’t those who today are the Unified Mariáteguist Party (PUM), Letts, Diez Canseco, say that the failure of the agrarian law, which they called reform, was simply that it was not socialist? This is a “theoretical” drunkenness because the agrarian reform is a democratic vindication.

The document transcribing the words of that general says: *“Our great objective in the second stage of the process of revolutionary transformation in the countryside is, therefore, integral rural development”*, years have passed, where is the integral rural development, it is the evolution of feudalism that has sunk the peasantry even deeper, which is struggling in the deepest crisis and misery. It is good to remember this, because we are hearing the same words today; this process began in ‘63, more than 25 years with successive laws since ‘63. General Gallegos said *“basic aspects are the increase of production and agrarian productivity”* and today they say the same thing; today they also talk about rationalizing the system, agro-industry is presented again as the perspective led by exportation, as Fujimori and Hurtado say. He ends by saying: *“And all the institutions, both from the public and private sectors, must concur towards remobilization in order to transform the Peruvian countryside into the fastest and most powerful wheel that will lead the way towards the development of our country.”* Today they speak to us of prosperity, it is the same and Hurtado Miller and Fujimori have also invoked the homeland; but here the call to public and private institutions is outstanding, today they call to unite the State with civil society.

On page 14: “How to understand bureaucrat-capitalism in our country, how to understand the agrarian process in our country.” Here Lenin’s thesis on the two forms that capitalism can develop in the countryside is stated:

“Development in a capitalist country can assume two forms: first, the big landownerships subsist and gradually become the base of capitalist exploitation of the land is the Prussian type of agrarian capitalism in which the junker is the master of the situation is maintained for decades his political predominance, and aggression, humiliation, misery and ignorance of the peasant; the development of the productive forces advances very slowly. The second form, the revolution sweeps away the

landed agrarian property, the free farmer on free land, that is to say, cleansed of all medieval encumbrances, becomes the basis of capitalist agriculture, it is the American type of agrarian capitalism. It is the most rapid development of the productive forces in the most favorable conditions for the mass and the people within the framework of capitalism.”

Bear in mind that Lenin did this by analyzing concrete situations that were expressed in Germany; he saw that this evolutionary path was taking place there, the large estates subsist and gradually become the basis of capitalist exploitation of the land; it is evolutionary, it does not destroy the feudal system, it is the one that costs more sacrifice, more effort, more pain, more blood, it is a peasants’ skinning through this evolutionary maintenance of the medieval defects. As opposed to this path, the North American path, the one that was expressed in the last century, is the one that I also called the “farmers” path, it sweeps away the landed agrarian property; it was fully linked to and derived from the civil war that allowed its wide expansion. As long as there are medieval burdens, one cannot speak of a free peasant.

What is developing in Peru is bureaucrat-capitalism and what is developing in the countryside is the process of evolution of semi-feudalism, while the American road is the one developed by the democratic revolution, which we lead through the People’s War under the leadership of the Communist Party. They are peculiar, different, concrete situations of the epoch in which we are developing. Both roads have undergone modifications, concretions due to the course of the historical process, what is the essence of those two roads? Those roads are given in the concrete circumstances where we already have imperialism, which has already a century of development and that we are an oppressed nation that has its peculiarities. We were told that the paths were wrong, that they no longer corresponded historically, that these theses of Lenin no longer applied. Well, when they speak of parcels as the base of the agrarian foundation of the country what they are talking about is that path of “farmers”, but they are conceiving it opportunistically, as always, to serve the order, dreaming that it can be implemented without revolution, apart from denying the existence of the land problem as a basic question.

Lenin: **“In reality in the Russian Revolution there is no struggle for ‘socialization’ and other stupidities of the populists”**; when we analyze the problem of peasant promotion, of the non-governmental organizations, there we will see how a sector is labeling them as populists. Populist is nothing but petty bourgeois ideology. Lenin continues: **“It served to determine which road the capitalist development of Russia will follow, the Prussian or the**

North American? Without understanding this economic basis of the revolution it is impossible to understand anything about the agrarian programme.” That is why they do not understand bureaucrat-capitalism, they do not understand the evolution of semi-feudalism due to petty bourgeois ideological positions.

Lenin continues: **“All the cadets, supporters of the big bourgeoisie, made superhuman efforts to hide the essence of the agrarian revolution. The cadets confuse, reconcile the two fundamental lines of the agrarian programs in the revolution”**; they confuse, reconcile both paths, they reduce them to one, they complement them as if they were the same when they are two contradictory elements. Lenin continues: **“In the period from 1861 to 1905 the two types of capitalist agrarian evolution were manifested in Russia: the Prussian, gradual development of the landed estate in the direction of capitalism, and the North American, differentiation of the peasantry and rapid development of the productive forces.”** That is what we are seeing here, saving distances, due to historical conditions and considering bureaucrat-capitalism, we with the democratic revolution open the field to capitalist development in the countryside, hence we must take into account how to manage this process so that from the very base which is agriculture a capitalist process does not break out and prevent us from developing the second stage of the revolution; we open the field but we will not let the revolution go down a capitalist road which in the end would be a restoration and return to imperialist domination.

But this is not all, Lenin establishes a relationship between these two economic roads and two political roads, he says: **“The real historical problem posed by the historical objective social development is this: Prussian-type or American-type agrarian evolution, landlord monarchy covered with the fig leaf of pseudo-constitutionalism or peasant republic of farmers; to close one’s eyes to such objective posing of the problem by history means to deceive oneself and to deceive others, to evade in a petty-bourgeois manner the sharp class struggle and the sharp, simple and decisive posing of the problem of the democratic revolution.”** The landlord road is the road of bureaucrat-capitalism and leads to the old Peruvian Republic, to defend and sustain it. The peasant road is the road of the democratic revolution and leads to the People’s Republic of Peru, not to see this political difference means to deceive oneself and to deceive others, it is to evade in the petty bourgeois manner the problem of the democratic revolution.

Lenin says: **“We cannot get rid of the bourgeois State, only the petty bourgeois can dream of such a thing: our revolution is bourgeois precisely because in it a struggle is waged not between socialism and capitalism but between two forms of capitalism, between two paths of development, between two forms of bourgeois democratic institutions.”** The revolution is democratic but here there are two roads, as the 6th and 7th Plenums of the Central Committee said in 1976, the bureaucratic capitalist road and the democratic road. The second, as far as the countryside is concerned, implies sweeping away all traces of semi-feudalism, sweeping away the land-owners and the big bourgeoisie that has power over agriculture, whether exploiting it in whatever way, as well as the domination of imperialist action. As a counterpart we support and defend the interests of the peasantry, we base ourselves on the poor peasantry, we support the middle and neutralize the rich; this in the case of the peasant problem, but the democratic revolution proposes to sweep away the three mountains: semi-feudalism, bureaucrat-capitalism and imperialism; and the basis of that revolution is semi-feudalism which we have to sweep away, yes, but that is part of the other three mountains, we cannot separate them, the three form a unity.

It is very good to see the agrarian problem, because the peasant question is a basic problem of the democratic revolution; but let us always consider it within all that the democratic revolution implies, the overthrow of the three mountains, which demands People’s War, the overthrow of the old State and the creation of the People’s Republic of Peru. This great thesis of Lenin is basic to understand the agrarian program within the national democratic revolution. There are those who consider that these two roads are no longer valid, a great error that only serves to cover up support for the agrarian measures of the landlordist road.

The document says: *“It develops under new conditions, bureaucrat-capitalism [...] uses cooperative and associative forms in general.”* Today this landed, bureaucratic, evolutionary path of semi-feudalism is developing but it is specified in a different way, it is no longer about cooperatives, nor associative forms in general; we must investigate ourselves again and better define our policies to manage the current process.

The document continues and says that the peasant path has been extraordinarily developed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and that the slogan “Land to the tiller!” continues to be valid, fully valid, it is a slogan that directly continues to imply the complete and total destruction of all the semi-feudal relations of exploitation and serves all the members of the people because the proletariat,

the petty bourgeoisie and even the national bourgeoisie are also interested; the specifications have to be seen with what we are considering today, with the concrete circumstances of 1990, with the plans of reaction.

The document says: *“Mariátegui stated that Peru followed the path of the land-owners, we can see it in the final part of the Seven Essays: ‘Capitalist concentration has been preceded by a stage of free competition. The great property does not therefore arise within the great feudal property as the Creole landowners probably imagine. On the contrary, for modern large property to emerge it was necessary the fractioning, the dissolution of large feudal property. Capitalism is an urban phenomenon, it has the spirit of the industrial, manufacturing and mercantile bourgeoisie, which is why one of its first acts was the liberation of the land, the destruction of the fiefdom. The development of the city needed to be nourished by the free activity of the peasantry. In Peru, against the sense of republican emancipation, the spirit of the fiefdom, antithesis and negation of the spirit of the bourgeoisie, has been entrusted with the creation of a capitalist economy.’”*

The document continues: *“This is the path that has been followed in Peru, as Mariátegui demonstrated, a path that was promoted in the ‘20s and that has deepened since the ‘50s, especially in the decade of the ‘60s. [In that decade there was the law of bases of Pérez Godoy; in ‘64 there was the 15237 of Belaúnde; and, the so-called “agrarian reform”, the 17716, of Velasco, in ‘69.] There were three agrarian laws characterized by restrictions and limitations of feudal property, expropriation of land and execution by the bureaucratic apparatus of the State.”* We could not say, therefore, that feudal property today is the same as it was before the three agrarian laws. It says: *“In synthesis, as it could not be otherwise, this regime, like the previous ones, develops in our country the old landlordism path, only that it is accompanied by cooperatives, SAIS, and associative enterprises of social property.”* This corresponds to the year 1976 and although it is correct and applies today, we need to specify how the two paths are taking place in the countryside. The landlord, bureaucratic road, which evolves feudalism, which brings bureaucrat-capitalism to the countryside; and the democratic, peasant road, which develops as a counterpart to the previous one and which we, with the People’s War, leading the democratic revolution, are taking forward, destroying the semi-feudal relations and opening new social relations; a peasant road which can be coupled to the old order if the revolution does not develop. We insist, the land problem continues to be the basic problem of the democratic revolution and we must always worry about it, see how the plans, the policies of reaction are being specified, how we are bringing about changes in the semi-feudal base of Peruvian society. We need to correctly judge this process of parcelization, the dispossession of land, the titling, the ownership of land, what are the results of the so-called agrarian reform, what are the intellectuals, what are

the revisionists and opportunists putting forward? To worry about this problem, more so if we are in the construction of the conquest of power.

3. POSITIONS OF THE BIG BOURGEOISIE, ITS COMPRADOR FACTION

The magazine *Economic Advance*. Article “Twenty years without structural changes”; in it, vol. 10, no. 107, we can find the position of the comprador bourgeoisie. It says that Law 17716, the so-called “agrarian reform”, meant a change of hands; that the land changed owners but that the landless survived; that the State managed to institutionalize its direct presence on the land and became the new owner of the land; this is precisely what we denounced when that law was promulgated during the corporate fascist regime of Velasco; we are not prophets of the past, we are politicians, Marxist-Leninist-Maoists and in the light of our ideology we can analyze everything and define what the reality is; this proves once again that our positions are correct and are confirmed in practice.

It says: “*Never, not even under the APRA government was agriculture given the atmosphere it required for production, modernization and progress, particularly in the high-lands*”; “*more precisely, it was the consequence of the policy of importing food with artificially cheapened and subsidized dollars*”. Here it is reflecting that agriculture has sunk further and that the APRA government did not promote agricultural production at all, but rather propitiated the sinking of agriculture with the import of agricultural food with the MUC dollars that so much negotiation has allowed them. But the real cause of the sinking process of Peruvian agriculture is the semi-feudalism that subsists in spite of the evolution generated by the landed way. Now that the APRA would not solve the land problem either, we also denounced it and spread it up to the graphic flyer against its agrarian policy. He goes on to say that there was not the agrarian reform that they proclaimed so much, but, it says “[...] *that change, that true agrarian reform is being made by the people*”, referring to the process of land parceling and how the associative forms that were created with the corporate law of Velasco have collapsed. Once again we are seeing the verification of our positions, we were the ones who denounced that the associative forms were only the basis for the corporatization of Peruvian society and that they would not solve the land problem. Textually he says: “*This agrarian reform has begun some time ago, spontaneously in what refers to the business model, the parceling and distribution of land tenure.*” Let us note, here, as in

other articles, the big bourgeoisie and its plumíferos and technicians do not speak of land ownership but of land tenure; then, if they say that the distribution of land tenure has begun, it means that the so-called agrarian reform did not solve the problem of land ownership, that neither the smallholding nor its counterpart the smallholding was destroyed, that the question of ownership is still pending and to say that it has begun spontaneously is also to ignore that what is being expressed is the peasant way that subsists and develops in the face of the landlord way; and above all that with the parceling of land today what is being sought on the part of reaction is to give property titles to the peasants in order to tie them to the process of mortgage and usury, to dispossess them of the land that the bankers, the big bourgeoisie and the landowners are appropriating; They want a wide field so that they can invest in the countryside and develop agro-industry; take over the land; usufruct the few irrigated lands that exist or grab the large concessions of land raised through the "PRIDI". In synthesis, dispossession of the land of the peasants so that the landowners and the big bourgeoisie can take over and develop the countryside according to the demands of imperialism, producing to export and not to feed the people. This position is part of the plans of the current government, Fujimori has proposed land titles and stolen in the programme he reported to Congress, he emphasized the export process as the leadership of development.

The magazine *Economic Advance*.(Ibid.) "Interview with Gonzales Olarte and Raúl Hopkins". The article is called "The coming years of the agrarian reform and its results". Mr. Efraín Gonzáles Olarte says: *"It is well known that the agrarian reform was made with political criteria"*, what criteria, then, are going to guide the class struggle, it is established that politics is the quintessence of economics, as Lenin clearly warned in his dispute with Trotsky when he said that this was the a, b, c, of Marxism when he invoked economic reasons.

This specialist, also from the comprador bourgeoisie, agrees with Velasco that the oligarchy's backbone had been broken, but he sees a problem in that *"the agrarian development model was not thought through"*, he says that there were flaws in the development model and that this is proven by comparing how the haciendas functioned with the cooperatives, in the end they defend the estates. He is asked if the objectives of this reform were achieved and he answers: *"It did not replace that order with another order"*, *"the agrarian reform is not a process that has strengthened the rural society"*, it broke the back of the oligarchy but that order was not replaced by another one nor was the countryside strengthened, rather it sank even more. But what order should be imposed, according to him, *"a democratic business order"* in the hands of individuals, not of the State, in essence he

agrees with an agrarian reform but he wants it without the State, with a bourgeois democratic order. Proof that he praises it is in: *"one of the most radical reforms in Latin America"*. It is that the two factions of the big bourgeoisie have benefited from it.

In analyzing the cooperatives he makes a great discovery, according to him, that the cooperative members were owners and workers at the same time; but if precisely with this it was sought to target the class and make them formal owners. Then: *"60% of the cooperatives are parceled"*; in the parceling we must see how the two roads are expressed, the peasant road that orphaned of proletarian leadership under the influence of revisionism, of opportunism, with its petty bourgeois ballast, orphaned of good enrumbamiento and in the worst conditions they throw themselves into the parceling of land. The big bourgeoisie, especially the comprador bourgeoisie, favors the parcelization because it facilitates the dispossession for a new concentration of the plots because the plot is small and unproductive; they want the parcelization with the objective of developing the countryside to make large agro-industrial complexes. It says: *"The parcel is the epilogue of the agrarian reform and that it did not complement itself"*. It says that there are companies on the coast, in the highlands and in the jungle of optimum size: 30, 50 hectares, not much? no; What happens is that to develop a capitalist system, 50 hectares is a good condition to work; even more if you have 50 and that land is well worked, you buy the 30 hectares or the 50 of one of the neighbors. Or the 50 hectares of one of the neighbors, then they develop them and buy those of the other neighbor, in this way they develop the evolutionary, land-owning path and take bureaucrat-capitalism to the countryside and apply the plans of imperialism. And the peasantry? Dispossessed of their lands. This is the new concentration that they are trying to achieve now that private enterprise tends to play an important role in the Peruvian economy.

Mr. Raul Hopkins says: *"I believe that after the agrarian reform, a whole new situation is produced in economic terms that have no parallel in the development of legislation. It is necessary to develop a whole post-reform legislation, for example, the purchase and sale of land, renting [...]"*.

It is that a series of economic phenomena are taking place that the law does not allow and that need to be legislated, he considers that informality in the countryside cannot continue, he, like Hernando de Soto, considers that the problem is solved by giving laws. He says: *"there is a confusion because the economic fact is at the margin of the legal disposition and this must be legalized, regularized, regulated; this informality cannot continue"*. He is not against the military government and its measures in the field; he also thinks that the failure is in the model and that this

is its limitation, the technique applied, the failure to impose an exporting system. In short, his position is laws, norms and a stable policy that lasts for a while, guarantees to be able to invest and an export model; whether it is done under bourgeois democracy or under military dictatorship is not a problem, he does not specify.

He continued: *"The most important thing is to recognize that the problem of agricultural development cannot be solved in the short term. It is not the problem of a single government; it is the problem of many governments, at least ten years."* Change the Andean Pact system because it was based on failed models. He conceives a long time for the development of the countryside, he focuses on productive development and wants to change the model; he is waiting for what the presidents of Latin America decide in order to adjust to the Bush initiative for America; he is within the criteria of CEPAL that he studied more in the Bureau of August '90, he states that in agriculture in Latin America, by the year 2000 the land will not increase nor will the number of workers increase, therefore, he should focus on the productivity of agriculture; he says: that the problem is to develop agricultural technology, etc. That is precisely what Fujimori is proposing and what the comprador bourgeoisie applauds, for them the problem is no longer one of land distribution because it has already been distributed, but of productivity, how to produce more with what techniques, with what organic apparatuses, what markets to cover, etc.

Here we have the position of the comprador bourgeoisie in Peru, it seeks to evolve the countryside, to regularize the land titles for dispossession and new concentration.

Peru, 1991

National Leadership

ON THE RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN WITH “ELECTIONS, NO! PEOPLE’S WAR, YES!”¹⁵

1991

1. ON THE QUESTION OF STUDYING — PAY ATTENTION TO ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS

Pay attention to analysis and synthesis — these are two aspects of a contradiction and synthesis is the main one. Analysis allows us to break down and set elements apart in order to achieve a better understanding, but this is only one aspect. It is not, nor can it ever be, the entire process of knowledge. It requires its other aspect — synthesis. It is synthesis which enables us to grasp the essence of knowledge. If there is no synthesis there is no qualitative leap in knowledge. Synthesis is the decisive aspect, the main aspect, the one which enables the formulation of objective laws.

Grasping this question is a problem of an ideological nature. It is an essential part of the application of the Marxist theory of knowledge, of dialectical materialism. Grasping this point runs counter to bourgeois idealist ideology which strives to separate analysis from synthesis. From the position of proletarian ideology, from the position of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, these are two aspects of the same unity but synthesis is the main aspect since it produces a higher level of knowledge, a qualitative change, a qualitative leap.

There are two classic examples of this. One is the example of the clock. In order to understand its mechanism it is first necessary to take it apart. This allows us to know its components and the functions of each one of them. But if the clock is not put together again there is no clock, only its parts. Even if they were to be placed together in a group that would only constitute a pile of pieces, never a clock.

The other example is the development of the various disciplines of natural science since the 15th Century. This process historically demonstrates

¹⁵ Intervention by Chairman Gonzalo in a reunion on the rectification campaign based on the study of the document “Elections, No! People’s Way, Yes!” (Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru, May 1990).

where lack of synthesis leads to. The great development of science enabled us to grasp various aspects of nature through studies such as mathematics, astronomy, physics, etc. But this development, entailing the breaking apart, the analytical process of science, its differentiation into various fields, often led to metaphysical theories.

Even the 18th Century, a century of great materialist scientific advance, produced metaphysical knowledge. Nevertheless, all this breaking into constituent parts, all this separation of fields of knowledge, laid the foundations for the qualitative leap. It generated the conditions, first for the appearance of Hegel's idealist dialectics and, later, of Marx's materialist dialectics.

Therefore this breaking down required synthesis, a thoroughgoing condensation. It laid the ground and the appropriate conditions for that dialectical materialism achieved by Marx and Engels, mainly by Marx. The arrival at this milestone, at the proletarian outlook, at Marxist philosophy, at dialectical materialism, was a process linked to a powerful synthesis. It was in this same manner that we arrived at the central question of the proletarian outlook, at the question of the universality of contradiction, an historical qualitative leap of monumental importance.

Both examples show the need for synthesis, for the qualitative leap. Therefore let us pay special attention to analysis and to synthesis, mainly to synthesis.

From the various contributions to the debate we can see a problem arising the process of breaking down into constituent parts leads to talk about "quotations". The contributions say "quotations from the document" or, "on reading quotations of Marx", or, "on grasping the quotations of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". In this manner they fall into listing isolated quotations which are not applied to actual and current problems. In this way the lack of grasp of synthesis generates a problem: a failure to grasp the proletarian ideology as a unity — as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. We can see this problem even in some peoples' way of expressing themselves. For example, in one of the contributions the question of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, and the fact that, here in Peru, this ideology's creative application is Gonzalo Thought is barely mentioned a couple of times

It is not sufficient to grasp only the facts. Wherever there is a problem one must seek the cause. This is an ideological question and since, in the realm of ideology, the contradiction between proletarian and bourgeois ideology manifests itself, there is always resistance and bourgeois ideology reflects itself in that specific and concrete moment in time as taking precedence over the

proletarian ideology. This is but part and parcel of the struggle between these two ideologies which commonly arises in those inexperienced people who themselves are still in the midst of their ideological development. This entails the need to demolish bourgeois ideology in order to build up proletarian ideology. Without demolition there can be no construction. The dead weight of tradition, of old ideas and customs, of deformities in the ideological level, constitutes an encumbrance presenting strong resistance.

Therein lies the need for a profound effort in the direction of transformation. Human beings are practical beings, not contemplative entities, particularly so when acting upon reality in order to change it in the service of the proletariat and the people. Hence humanity is capable of overcoming the old and obsolete ideology and of embracing the proletarian ideology, the only ideology able to comprehend and transform the world in the service of the class and the oppressed peoples.

Very well. But, when studying, this contradiction is an issue of analysis and synthesis. From the standpoint of knowledge this is the driving force which generates a qualitative leap. In the absence of a correct handling of this contradiction problems will arise in the handling of the proletarian ideology. Therein, at this level, lies the root cause of the failure to take a stand for Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, as universal truth, as the outlook uniting the Communists of the whole world and, specifically, the failure to take a stand mainly for Gonzalo Thought here in Peru for this, our Peruvian Revolution. Taking up positions based on isolated quotations on the international situation or on the national political situation, on the questions of the Party and its Three Instruments, or on work among the masses, etc., reveals a failure to conceive Marxism as a unity. When studying, to restrict oneself to the analysis and to fail in the handling of the synthesis as the main factor, constitutes a problem of a bourgeois ideological character involving failure to carry out a qualitative leap. Taking a stand for Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, as guide and center, is the axis upon which everything depends. It is this standpoint, the one which generates comprehension and the elucidating of the objective law, the grasping of which makes possible the changing of everything — nature, society and ideas.

One must always learn this lesson well. Limiting oneself merely to analysis leads to metaphysics. Undertaking synthesis leads to dialectical materialism. In studying the document this outlook enables us to arrive at Marxism. Arriving at Marxism leads us to Leninism, and Leninism to Maoism. Of all these three, Maoism is the main one. Moreover, Maoism leads us to Gonzalo Thought,

which is the universal truth specific to the concrete reality of Peruvian society and specific to the concrete conditions of the class struggle today.

It is synthesis which enables us to understand the document and to understand its Marxist character. To grasp the way in which the Party understands Marxism today while basing itself on the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought, thesis which holds that Maoism is the new and higher stage.

All of us, Communists, fighters and masses, must forge ourselves in the proletarian ideology — Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought.

2. CELEBRATION OF THE 25th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the greatest achievement of Chairman Mao and it constitutes an enormous contribution to the Proletarian World Revolution. This revolution served to solve one of the outstanding problems of socialism — the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in its inexorable march towards Communism. This question has been resolved for all time and Communists already know the answer to the problem — we shall continue the revolution under the conditions of socialist society by means of proletarian cultural revolutions. In perspective, the gist of the question is to change the soul, to transform ideological outlook. The issue is to make of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism a living reality. Only thus can capitalist restoration be avoided and the march to Communism be advanced.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a fundamental question of Maoism. If we do not understand Maoism correctly as the new, third and higher stage of Marxism, it is impossible to understand anything. Therein lies the question in all its simplicity. We know very well that to be a Marxist today means to be a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, mainly a Maoist. The theoretical foundations of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are rooted in Marx himself who pointed out that in the transition from capitalism to Communism there is a need for a permanent revolution throughout a period of proletarian dictatorship, an indispensable and necessary permanent revolution understood as a series of successive great leaps. This theory is also rooted in Lenin who himself conceived and promoted the cultural revolution. But it fell to Chairman Mao to resolve this great unfinished task of the continuation of the revolution. He directed, realized and developed this revolution as the greatest political event

witnessed by humanity. Despite many and very great struggles the issue was not settled until 1966 when the proletariat and the people of China found the way under the personal leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung at the helm of the glorious Communist Party of China (CPCh), and in so doing shook the world.

For us this event has even more vital importance today since the trumpeted “defeat of socialism” is connected with the way in which socialism develops and how the proletarian dictatorship is defended. This failure is the failure of revisionism, not the failure of socialism. It is revisionism which has continued its sinister road of capitalist restoration, sinking into the mire of its final bankruptcy. The revisionists, in the USSR since 1956 with Khrushchev down to the infamous Gorbachev, and in China with Teng Hsiao-ping from 1976 to the present, usurped the dictatorship of the proletariat, restored capitalism and destroyed socialism. Revisionism is the political direction of restoration, the negative aspect of the process of restoration and counter-restoration which the class necessarily undergoes until it definitively installs itself in Power.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the most positive and greatest contribution in this worldwide process of struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, of restoration and counter-restoration within the development of socialism. The fact that it only lasted until 1976 and the fact that the counter-revolutionary revisionist coup of Teng Hsiao-ping and the subsequent capitalist restoration took place does not in the least negate the Cultural Revolution nor its necessity. Moreover, this restoration confirms the words of Chairman Mao: in the struggle between capitalism and socialism, in the life and death struggle between restoration and counter-restoration, in the antagonistic struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat, the question of who will defeat whom is not yet settled, and that the class struggle would continue until final victory, until the achievement of Communism.

That the Cultural Revolution unfolded from 1966 until 1976 is an incontrovertible fact, a reality; the whole world saw it happen. Therefore, the Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a settled issue. Marx in 1848 said that political Power would be conquered by violence, but he did not live to see this nor was he instrumental in the unfolding of this process. Nevertheless he gave us the solution — the proletariat had to conquer Power by means of revolutionary violence and had to apply the proletarian dictatorship. In the same manner Chairman Mao has provided the solution for the continuation of the revolution under the conditions of the proletarian dictatorship. Moreover, he had the

opportunity of applying this solution in practice. Therefore, we already know what to do as we have historical experience.

Without detracting from the Paris Commune of 1871, an event which marked the first milestone in the process of the conquest of political Power for the proletariat, let us remember that Marx himself understood that the Commune was bound to fail since it lacked a Communist Party to direct it. Nevertheless, he said that we could not allow the morale of the class to be debased, nor did it matter how many leaders may fall. He defended and supported this struggle. Despite its importance as the first milestone the Paris Commune cannot be compared with the unfolding of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which is a milestone of a far higher quality. Besides, the Paris Commune only lasted two months while the Cultural Revolution spanned more than 10 years, was led by Chairman Mao and the CPCh and mobilized hundreds of millions of people. Between these two milestones there is the October Revolution led by Lenin, the creator of the first dictatorship of the proletariat and of the first socialist country on Earth, and the Chinese Democratic Revolution led by Chairman Mao, which achieved victory in 1949. Of these four great and glorious milestones in the process of the conquest of Power and of the construction of socialism, the highest and most highly developed milestone to date is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

In our Party, the Communist Party of Peru (CPP), the General Political Line establishes the fact that the Peruvian Revolution in its march towards Communism spans three revolutions: the democratic, the socialist and the cultural revolution (not just one but many), and that all of these, from the very first one, would constitute one single uninterrupted march towards Communism. Especially today we must grasp this point very well since now, 25 years since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we can see our future in this revolution. Moreover, let us bear very much in mind the fact that it was in the process of this revolution that Maoism illuminated the world and became the new third and higher stage of Marxism: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Let us celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

The document, “Elections, No! People’s War, Yes!”, deals with the contributions laid down by Chairman Mao for the process of the Cultural Revolution. Therefore, it points out for us the central issues for celebrating the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The contributions that have been expressed here have grasped the Cultural Revolution and its essence, but we must be able to understand it within the parameters of our tasks. Let us get used to studying in order to apply, in

order to obtain practical conclusions from current affairs. This leads us on to a third question.

3. POLITICAL SITUATION

The political practice of the proletariat is to grasp documents, policies or Party directives in order to apply them to the political moment. We always undertake study with a view to its application and in order to resolve actual problems. Otherwise we would fall into bookish studies, into mere parroting, and that is a bourgeois, idealist and metaphysical method.

Therefore, let us analyze the current class struggle in the light of the four sections of the document. Let us ponder the ideas we perceive today and the ideas that the Central Committee must decide upon.

In the first section — ELECTIONS ARE CRUCIAL FOR THE REACTIONARIES — what is the document pointing at? The document shows us the international and the national context. On the question of the international class struggle, let us keep in mind that today we have the rise of a general counterrevolutionary offensive of international scope. Let us recall the Party’s stand of 1985 when regarding Gorbachev’s Perestroika — we held that we were facing a **“new counter-revolutionary revisionist offensive headed mainly by Gorbachev and Teng Hsiao-ping”**. And later, in May 1990, in the document we are presently studying, we said that we were facing **“a recently intensified offensive in convergence with the offensive unleashed by imperialism against Marxism, an offensive characterized by renewed shouts about a supposed and trumpeted ‘obsolescence of Marxism’, therefore in this case the collusion and the struggle, and here mainly the collusion implicit in this sinister onslaught, is aimed at Marxism-Leninism-Maoism”**. In synthesis, we are dealing with a convergent offensive of imperialism and revisionism in collusion and in strife. The events which have occurred since have confirmed that this has been, is, and continues to be, the case. But would it not be correct to consider that we are going through a general counter-revolutionary offensive? Why do we say this? Because everyone is attacking the revolution, the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution, attacking revolutionary violence, the People’s War. They are attacking the Communist Party, socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and they are attacking the goal, Communism. They say that the facts have demonstrated that socialism is no longer valid, that socialism does not exist, that it has failed. But we must remind

them that in the '50s there was a socialist camp, that the victory of the Chinese Revolution meant a momentous change in the correlation of forces in the world and that there never had been in history a social system capable of changing so deeply and so rapidly the rotten capitalist and feudal structures that existed in the USSR or in China. We must remind them, too, that socialism in the USSR unfolded under Lenin and under Comrade Stalin until the usurpation of Power by the revisionist Khrushchev, and that the situation in China was similar, where socialism lasted until 1976 when, after the death of Chairman Mao, Teng Hsiao-ping carried out a counter-revolutionary revisionist State coup. And we must remind them, also, that if we are to count from 1848 when Marx and Engels, who were only but two people, wrote the immortal "Manifesto of the Communist Party", laying down the fundamentals of scientific socialism and then, from 1917 when this socialism was first implemented, we can see that socialism is young, it has had but a short life and today it continues to exist as an experience. It lives on in the Communists and the revolutionaries of the world, it lives as an ideology and as a praxis. Also, it lives in us, the Communists and revolutionaries of Peru.

Therefore we are talking about a general counter-revolutionary offensive aimed at averting the revolution as the main historical and political trend in today's world. And who are those aiming their spears against the revolution? It is jointly the imperialists and the revisionists. Nevertheless, of the two, US imperialism is the main element as leader of the offensive since it aims to establish itself as the sole superpower in its struggle for hegemony against the other, Russian, superpower and the other imperialist powers. This offensive is developed mainly by US imperialism in its role as main aspirant to world hegemony. Also, it is a general offensive because, besides coming from imperialism, revisionism and world reaction, it also occurs at all levels: ideological, political and economic, although the political level is the main one.

We must ponder this very seriously, analyze it and grasp it well, like we ought to do with everything else: the question is to understand reality in order to elucidate the objective law governing it and by grasping this law, to be capable of transforming reality in order to serve the proletariat and the peoples of the world.

Here it is appropriate to make a note — this is not a final offensive. We must differentiate correctly. It is a general counter-revolutionary offensive. In general terms, one speaks of a final offensive when dealing with the last stage of the Strategic Offensive of the revolution. Politically and militarily speaking, this offensive undergoes three moments or stages — of course, with politics

being the main aspect and always leading the military one — the Strategic Defensive, the Strategic Stalemate and the Strategic Offensive. Our standpoint is that we find ourselves at the stage of the Strategic Offensive of the World Revolution. However, we do not hold that we are in the final offensive. Besides, we consider that the Strategic Offensive of the World Revolution develops within a protracted process, not within a short one, and moreover, in the midst of great zigzag movements and even retreats. Therefore, what we now are dealing with is not an issue of the revolution but of the counter-revolution. We are dealing with a general counter-revolutionary offensive aimed at averting the development of the Proletarian World Revolution.

Another question: Regardless of all their cannon and hellfire and the unleashing of their heaviest economic blows, their mudslinging and wild attacks, as always without a valid argument, they are doomed, they are already defeated. If we are conscious that in revolutions there are restorations and even regressions, we should not be surprised at the existence of a general counter-revolutionary offensive. Moreover, we must correctly characterize it in order to handle and defeat it. The attacks upon Marxism have always been a prelude for its further development and advance. Let us remember our thesis of 1979: as far as we know today, 15.000.000.000 years of the process of matter in movement lead towards the inexorable march of Communism. This is the reality so let us grasp this law well and carry it forward. Our aim, Communism, is not an idea outside the material process. It is a part of it, it originates from this process and constitutes its perspective. There is no other class with the historical perspective of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie was once a revolutionary class but it has already become historically obsolete and it is wildly clawing and hissing as wounded beasts do. This rabid behavior is the price of its destruction. It feels itself sinking, it knows itself to be unburied carrion, but although its grave is already open and waiting, it resists its burial at the hands of the proletariat. This last monster engendered by the bourgeoisie, imperialism, the oppressor of the world’s people, must be swept off the face of the Earth together with revisionism and world reaction. Our role, the role of the proletariat and the people, is to bury it. It is the necessary task in our historical perspective. We must always have this absolute conviction — we shall smash the bourgeoisie and bury imperialism! — imperialism and all its partners and running dogs.

Regarding the political situation at the national level this first part of the document deals with the so-called “legitimization”. This is a thesis of US imperialism, a tenet of their low intensity warfare, of their counter-insurgency war. In several Party events since our Congress we have dealt with its meaning.

This is something of interest for us and therefore we ask ourselves this question: how is it going at the present moment? There is no such legitimization. Besides the character of elections in Peru as a reactionary farce, the votes harvested by Fujimori do not give him any legitimacy. On the contrary, given that the percentage of non-voters (27%) was higher than the percentage who voted (24.6%) for Cambio 90 in the first round and very far from the 50%+1 needed to assume the presidency in accordance with their own constitution. In the second round and with the support of the APRA, the United Left and Socialist Left, he only achieved a simple majority (not 50%+1 of all registered voters). Moreover, because of his deeds against the people and because of the character of the regime over which he presides, Fujimori appears even less legitimate. He is a representative of the big bourgeoisie, mainly the comprador bourgeoisie and of all the landowners, as well as being the most servile pro-US imperialist ruler up to date, the most rabid enemy of the People's War. In synthesis, a genocide and a Quisling.

Therefore, the process of his "de-legitimization", his utter unmasking, develops explosively. The people feel that there is no right or reason for so much evil, for so much oppression and the People's War helps along this process. The systematic violation of their human rights, the genocidal policies that Fujimori follows in the footsteps of Belaúnde and García — can this be denied in reality? The people feel these policies, they are forced to endure them. The reappearance of mass graves, the slaughter of the sons and daughters of the people, the vile murder, with absolute impunity, of the fighters and their families, the war without prisoners — can they hide it from the people who suffer it? Can they hide the heinous crimes against the families and the masses who were marching peacefully, armed solely with their flags and slogans, in the squares and streets of Lima and the shantytowns to commemorate the 5th anniversary of the Day of Heroism. Can they conceal the massacre at San Gabriel and the subsequent congratulations of Fujimori to the assassins? The protest against the assassination of a university student and two humble children for the sole crime of wearing rucksacks, can that be overlooked in silence that the murderers may be again protected? The genocide of indigenous communities, the transformation of peasant communities into cannon-fodder for the genocidal armed forces, the carte blanche given to the "ronderos" to commit all sorts of crimes, can that legitimize Fujimori's government? The most brutal cut in salaries, the most infamous neglect of education and the people's health (being recognized as the government of cholera), the most systematic negation of the rights and benefits achieved by the proletariat and the people, the ceaseless

and growing repression of the masses, the introduction of land mortgages, usury and the new concentration of land ownership in order to expropriate the poor peasantry, the hunger of millions thrown into the most stark poverty, the deep recession of the Peruvian economy which reduces the income of the masses to what it was decades ago, the destruction of national production and the greatest jumble sale of the country resources to the imperialists, etc., etc. Can all this make Fujimori’s regime legitimate?. No, it has served only to utterly unmask it in less than a year.

In synthesis, in the study of the first part of the document, note: 1) The sinister counter-revolutionary offensive in general, and 2) The growing “lack of legitimacy” and the unmasking of Fujimori’s government and of the rotten Peruvian State.

In the second part — THE POLITICAL CRISIS DEEPENS AND THE CONTRADICTIONS MOUNT UP — one would have to center attention in the process of bureaucrat-capitalism. Bureaucrat-capitalism is a thesis of our Party. It is the specific modality, the form which capitalism assumes here, in the semi-feudal, semi-colonial backward countries such as ours. This process is related to the fact that the history of Peruvian society achieves an embryonic development of capitalism in the 18th Century, that while being subjected to British imperialism it underwent a surge in the middle of the last century. and that it suffered the consequences of the war with Chile.

From 1895 bureaucrat-capitalism underwent three stages or moments, a process which still continues: 1) From 1895 until 1945 with its axis in the decade of the 20s. This is the moment of DEVELOPMENT OF BUREAUCRAT-CAPITALISM. 2) From 1945 to 1980, with its axis in the decade from 1968 to 1978 (1968 saw the fascist corporatist State coup of Velasco). This is the moment of DEEPENING OF BUREAUCRAT-CAPITALISM. The Party established that the fascist State coup had three aims: first, the deepening of bureaucrat-capitalism, second, the restructuring of Peruvian society, and third, to avert the Peruvian Revolution. It is obvious that they could not quite crown their objectives. They laid down the basis, but their task was not accomplished. The best and most overwhelming proof of this is the beginning in 1980 of the armed struggle. Therefore, the third moment begins in 1980, and it is the stage of the DESTRUCTION OF BUREAUCRAT-CAPITALISM. This is the stage that we are going through today.

Bureaucrat-capitalism is born ailing and in a critical condition and today it is in general crisis, approaching its doom. But if one notes the process of each moment of its development, in synthesis, there are in two stages. For

example in its first moment there is a prologue expressed in a preparatory stage, and then during the decade of the 20s, another stage when foundations are laid for the development of bureaucrat-capitalism. Then comes a process of collapse, the intended development is not achieved, a crisis arises, and this crisis leads to further collapse. Historical facts show this to be the case.

In the second moment, the moment of the deepening of bureaucrat-capitalism, we also have a prologue or preparatory stage, then the laying down of foundations and finally the arrival of the crisis which led to a greater collapse than the one which occurred at the end of the previous moment. From 1980 onwards, we are in the third moment, the moment of the destruction of bureaucrat-capitalism. We have also experienced that prologue, a long and complicated preparation of conditions which leads us into the decade of the 90s. Today they are laying the foundations for the application of neoliberalism. They blabber about “making a revolution”, but just as in the two former historical moments of bureaucrat-capitalism, in this third moment the laying down of foundations will necessary lead them to another crisis which in turn will generate an even greater collapse. In order to differentiate the second from the third historical moment, let us here point out that the former relied on the State as the main economic lever, while today they are aiming to enshrine non-State activity as the main lever. It is true that history shows that the laying down of foundations produces some results, but it also shows that it generates a deeper crisis. Therefore everything today demonstrates that in the third historical moment bureaucrat-capitalism is in general crisis, ideologically, politically and economically. The current critical situation has deepened since 1974 and they have been unable to overcome the crisis. Politically, the State has become more corrupt: the president rules by decree abusing the powers granted by Article 211, Paragraph 20 of their Constitution. Parliament does not comply with legislating, its primary function, and the judicial power, which is ridiculed even by Fujimori and has no budget, is every day more subjected to the executive power. Besides, the laws, among which we have the recent Penal Code, introduce fascist regulations. Daily more signs of fascism appear and there are more fascist standpoints espoused in the ideological plane. Like their imperialist masters, weighed down by their ideology which becomes more rotten everyday and lacking in perspective, they have no other choice but to raise banners from the 18th and early 19th Century — such as liberalism. If, on the other hand, these banners were already dirty rags by the time of the 1st World War, as has already been demonstrated, then socialism really does represents the future. Meanwhile, capitalism is a corpse, and like so many corpses, needs to be buried.

Therefore, they are sinking deeper and deeper in their general crisis, ideologically politically and economically, and every day they are more and more being demolished by the People’s War.

This government is in a situation that grows more difficult by the day, the most critical situation which Peruvian society has ever undergone and they will be unable to handle it. Any measures they may adopt cannot result in anything other than a transient respite and in general bankruptcy. The main instrument of their demolition is the People’s War based on the class struggle of the masses.

It is important to note the three historical moments of bureaucrat-capitalism and their specific character, especially the character of the third. In this fashion we will understand why the three political tasks of Peruvian reaction and its masters, mainly US imperialism (to refurbish bureaucrat-capitalism, to restructure the State and to smash the People’s War), cannot and will not be accomplished. Their accomplishment is an historical and political impossibility. Even the reactionaries themselves are saying, here the country and abroad, that Fujimori’s government is not accomplishing a thing, that it instead goes from failure to failure. This is only a part of the truth since their difficulties are not only growing but are, of necessity, the embodiment of the bureaucratic road of the exploiters, the big bourgeoisie, the landowners and imperialism. This process is the embodiment of a law, a law which establishes that in its development bureaucrat-capitalism serves the development and maturing of the revolution and that the revolution, with the development of the People’s War, accelerates and grows more powerful, therefore bringing even nearer the goal of the seizure of Power in the whole country.

In this second part of the document, we must also consider the complementary local elections. Around this process an old song is been sung, venal pen-pushers are already prattling, but they can only fail by denying reality. Today, it is not only a question of the armed forces being the Grand Electors, it is a question of direct appointment of (local) authorities by the same armed forces. They will continue to act in accordance to the policies as laid down in their “Cangallo” document. The truth is already emerging. Yesterday they prattled about supposed democratic victories but today they recognize that more than 400 districts are without local authorities. Such is their democracy. On the other hand they are incapable of protecting their candidates, as in the case of those of the United Left in Ayacucho, and in Junin, where they have presented the ringleaders of the army controlled militia (ronderos) as candidates.

Therefore, as is the case with these rotten systems, the elections are only an instrument for the continuation of the exploitation and the oppression of the people. That is why the tactic of the boycott sponsored by the Party is good. It develops the people's trend against elections and serves the development of the People's War.

In the third part of the document — THE BOYCOTT DEVELOPS THE PEOPLES TREND AGAINST ELECTIONS AND SERVES THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR — we must focus upon the advances made to debunk the accusations made against us in 1989 and to stress the accords of the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee: That in 1990, the People's War gave us the great achievement of the Open People's Committees, and that in 1991 it gave us the Strategic Stalemate. Salute the Strategic Stalemate! That simple phrase has been sufficient to make the reactionaries and revisionists tremble and gnash their teeth. Most of them have yelled blue murder and raised a big scandal, they have even set up ridiculous and bloody operations against us, massacring the masses, like they always do, in order to "show" that there is no such equilibrium. Why? Because they are frightened since they perceive that their old order is going to perish and be buried. The words of the Party have never been proven wrong by reality. Everything we have proclaimed we have applied: We said we would start the armed struggle and we did with ILA 80. Today we are entering the stage of the seizure of power in the whole country. We say that there is strategic equilibrium, and we specify its character. Let us point this out more clearly than ever: **"Strategic Stalemate and preparation of the counter-offensive means the enemy striving to recapture their lost positions in order to buttress their system and us striving to put the finishing touches for the strategic offensive by means of the Plan for the Building up to the Seizure of Power"**. Let us understand this clearly in order to handle it better every time. We think that this is a task we must deal with thoroughly in order to appreciate not merely what Chairman Mao teaches us in this respect, but to identify the specific way in which this manifests itself here in our country.

Also, let us highlight how the entire process of 11 years of People's War has brought us the 3rd Campaign for Forwarding the Development of Bases of Support as a part of the Great Plan for Development of Bases with the Perspective of Building up for the Seizure of Power. The importance of this process is rooted in the fact that it crowns the Plan for Forwarding and is therefore a link for a new Plan. In synthesis, the accomplishment of this 3rd Campaign in May, June and July is something superb. Never before had the People's

War reached so deeply nor raised its quality so highly, mainly in the countryside as well as in the cities as a complement. Everyone of us must feel a deep satisfaction for having served wholeheartedly for such a transcendental task regardless of the level of our participation. A few bricks joined together with others can make a solid wall. Let the traitors deny this victory. If they do so it is only because of their class interest and because they are paid to deny it, no matter how ill-paid they may be by Peruvian reaction and by imperialism. We are conscious of the truth of the reality in which we live. That is why we are able to see how in the Party, in the People’s Guerrilla Army, in the New Power and in the masses, the achievements of this epic People’s War are so much in evidence.

Are there any signs of the echoes of this process of People’s War? Yes. For example, for the first time the US Senate has now debated the People’s War in Peru. Therefore this process is reverberating in the very lair of world reaction. This is not the main sign but it is an important one. In this world there are some people who build castles in the air, for example, a traitor and genocide like Fujimori, hangmen such as the Minister of the Interior General Malca, the Minister of Defense General Torres Aciego, dyed-in-the-wool pro-Yankees such as C. Boloña Behr, the Minister of Economy, or reptiles and arrivistes such as Bernales, Tapia, Gonzales, etc. Individuals who, as thorough flunkies of imperialism and the ruling classes, dream of vanquishing the People’s War by using its great advances in order to beg the “hero” of imperialism, mainly US imperialism, and to defend their ultra-reactionary Peruvian state by obtaining from them their so-called “re-admission” into the world economy.

In the USA, the opening moves for next years elections are taking place. Bush is going after re-election. He has achieved a paltry success in the Middle East. That is sufficient for them although everybody knows well that he did not achieve his aims. We say this because a vile and bullying onslaught against a people can never be considered as an achievement, especially today when every struggle of the world’s peoples for their liberation is a component part of the World Revolution (we are conscious of the class limitations of Saddam Hussein). Nevertheless, such is what constitutes “success” for Yankee imperialism. Moreover, though they undertook that war in the Gulf in order to give impetus to their economy it has not resulted in the new economic impulse they expected and their economy continues to experience serious problems vis-a-vis the economies of other imperialist powers, although this fact does not imply that they have ceased to be an imperialist superpower. Furthermore, Bush undertook to fight a battle against drugs and in that field he is also having to confront his own people. This is because, just as in the case of the handling of his economic

problems, where he raises taxes and reduces expenditure on social programs and clashes with the US people, in this field he also has to confront the poorest and most exploited sections, particularly the oppressed minorities. Hence he does not obtain any results on that account. Moreover, this struggle against drugs is closely linked with the fight against the people's war in Peru and to the class struggle in the Andean region and therefore it has its repercussions in US political life. Therefore, we must grasp the fact that this affair would not end in September 1991. We refer here to the hold placed upon the so-called "US aid". An affair in which, in order to receive such "aid", the Peruvian government has to comply with the "anti-drugs" treaty, a treaty stipulating in one of its parts, the need for respecting what they call "human rights", rights which are systematically violated by that same government. The People's War in Peru is therefore a tool for use in the US's electoral struggle, but the factor which interests us is that it has repercussions in their own Congress. Besides, all this is a contributing factor to the struggle of our Comrades of the Revolutionary Communist Party and of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement with whom, because of this fact, we are more united in waging a common campaign against imperialism, mainly against Yankee imperialism, under the slogan of "Yankees Go Home!". This is another example of the achievements and the echoes of the 3rd Campaign.

In the fourth section of the document — ELECTIONS, NO! PEOPLE'S WAR, YES! — a section which is the most important one, we set out our criterion for evaluating Marxism today. We analyzed the fundamental thesis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, in four different fields. This constitutes a reaffirmation of our principles and even contains a description in ascending order of importance of our outlook taken as a unity. The document gives a lesser part to Marx, a larger part to Lenin and another very much larger to Chairman Mao. This also demonstrates the development of Maoism as a new, third and higher stage.

Let us take as a first concept, one which is most apposite today: Upholding, defending and applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the decisive factor in order to develop the Proletarian World Revolution, to demolish imperialism and international reaction and to smash revisionism. This is the gist of the matter. In the '60s it was held that Maoism was the most powerful weapon, that it was our atomic bomb, a peerless weapon. Today we must become even more aware of the historical significance of Marxism. We must become even more conscious of its invincible character — that Marxism is all-powerful because it is true. This is the decisive factor. Everything else depends

on this factor, everything has its starting point here. If we deviate from Maoism the revolution would be delayed even though our enemies would not succeed in averting it since Marxism-Leninism-Maoism will assert itself anew to lead the revolution. We need mainly Maoism and we need to raise its banner very high, even higher each time round. This necessitates defending Maoism because it is not enough to uphold it. We raise flags in order to defend them, but the main thing is to apply Maoism.

Why uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism? In order to develop the Proletarian World Revolution. The main trend in the world is revolution. There is no future for mankind without the complete and total victory of the revolution realized as Communism. Therefore the issue is to develop the World Revolution. To develop the World Revolution can only mean applying it, realizing it in practice. What has been said here today is a profound truth — how many we are is not the fundamental thing. The important question is if we want to carry it out or not. Yesterday, in 1848, Marx and Engels were but two people, today, 143 years later, we are millions throughout the world. Yesterday we had nothing. Today we have two great historical experiences rich in lessons, experiences which are present, which are alive in us, in the proletariat and in the peoples. We must insist that the fact that there have been two restorations does not deny the fact that the revolution is the main trend. To deny this fact is a dark pipe dream of reactionaries because the Proletarian World Revolution continues to advance and we are a part of that advance. It is undeniable that the Proletarian World Revolution will demand the cost of bloodshed, but what does not demand the cost of blood in this world? We ourselves would not be here without the lives sacrificed by so many Communists and revolutionaries throughout the world.

We also need Maoism in order to demolish imperialism and international reaction and to sweep them off the face of the Earth. The more slime they throw at us, the more they themselves will drown in their own quagmire and bury themselves even deeper while we will be their historical grave diggers. This great social cleansing is something inevitable.

We need Maoism in order to smash revisionism. Imperialism and revisionism will together end on the garbage heap, but it is not possible to fight against imperialism without fighting against revisionism.

With total conviction and without the slightest doubt to worry us, let alone hamper us, we reaffirm for ourselves Maoism’s decisive importance. The Communists, the working class, the revolutionary people, are optimists. Nothing can stop us.

And all this leads us to: Defeating the counter-revolutionary general offensive. This slogan must become our watchword.

A second concept is the placing of emphasis on a task we have agreed upon: To generate favorable public opinion and to launch deep ideological work among the masses. Let's implement this task with great speed and firm decision. Marxism has taught us how to make propaganda work. The words of Marx have borne powerful fruit in the whole world, read in nearly every language. Lenin taught us that the time that elapses between sowing and reaping in propaganda work is unimportant and that propaganda always gives magnificent fruit. Chairman Mao pointed out that both reaction and revolution need to generate favorable public opinion. The reactionaries need to generate public opinion against the revolution and in favor of their continued exploitation. We need to generate favorable public opinion in order to seize Power and to defend it with revolutionary violence. Without the winning of public opinion for the revolution there can be no seizure of Power.

We have a great ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, the most powerful weapon in today's world, and we have its creative application, Gonzalo Thought. Therefore let us arm minds, and each time do it better and more thoroughly. If one wins over the mind one is arming the hand. It is not accidental that our Party is characterized by its strength in the political sphere, and politics is nothing more than the concrete application of ideology in the struggle for the seizure of Power.

Our ideology is being attacked today by everybody and in every aspect and these attacks are bound to grow stronger. But our enemies are afraid of facing us as they can't debate ideologically against Marxism. The bourgeoisie's critique does not go beyond wild assertions and epithets without the slightest foundation, and this is simply because it doesn't have any. What arguments are they trotting out to confront Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with? The new ideologies of the bourgeoisie are but candle flames in the wind. For example, let's take Fukuyama, who appeared on the scene as a bright light. He shone for a brief moment and has already faded from view like the smoke of a cheap cigar. Fukuyama denied historical development by claiming that all ideologies, specially the ideology of the proletariat, had become obsolete. Nevertheless, Fukuyama excluded the ideology of the bourgeoisie from this fate, basing himself in a supposed final victory and purported eternity of imperialism as an economic and political system. But, spurred on by the class struggle, history and ideologies continue to do battle and it has been the job of history itself to evaporate his pipe dreams. The class ideologies continue to fight, be it in the guise

of Islamic fundamentalism with its religious outlook or as neo-liberals, neo-positivist and fascists as the expression of bourgeois ideology on the one hand, and fundamentally us, the Communists, with our scientific ideology Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on the other, as we are doing here with the People’s War in Peru which is led by the Communist Party. Once again, as is always the case, the wind promptly blows away the pseudo-theoretical dreams and rantings of the bourgeoisie.

Lately, they have returned to Joseph de Maistre and that is truly a ridiculous situation in which to find themselves. Even Uslar Pietri, a man decorated by the King of Spain, has recounted how de Maistre was the enemy of all progressives. How could it had been otherwise since he was a dyed-in-the-wool supporter of the Pope and the reactionary and obscurantist church! Therefore the bourgeoisie is taking cover behind the most ultra-reactionary of their “theoreticians”. But this process is nothing but the further reinfection of a rotten carcass and it is obvious that the bourgeoisie and reaction in general lack any fresh blood to reinvigorate their ideological corpse. They merely have recourse to poisonous substances which can only hasten their ideological putrefaction.

And now, how should we respond to their ideological attacks? We must unmask them thoroughly, dispossess them of their false and stinking flags, confront them with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, applied to the concrete reality. Marxism is the only true scientific ideology. It can move mountains and transform the world by standing it upright and not on its head, as does idealism. Marx held that philosophy had been enchained, expropriated from the masses and bogged down in dusty webs of complicated words in order to hide it from the people. We must free philosophy and deliver it back to the masses. We must use our own ideology in order to powerfully mobilize the masses: the generation of favorable public opinion is a question of mobilizing the masses in order for the masses themselves to become propagandists and agitators. Let us develop a massive movement to educate the masses in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, and Gonzalo Thought. Since the time of Marx we have been taught this need and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the most vivid and greatest example of mobilizing the masses with Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology in order to continue the construction of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to continue the revolution and to impede the usurpation of its fruits, thus defending the revolution. Therefore, let us mobilize the masses in a deep and boundless theoretical and ideological movement of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Gonzalo Thought ideas. Let us free them from that feudal, pro-imperialist bourgeois pile of garbage which

makes them see the world upside down, standing on its head. Let us free philosophy from the bookshelves, from the voluminous tomes, from the false academic centers and carry it to the masses, to the day-to-day class struggle, to the people. The soul has been taken from the masses, therefore our task is to restore it to them so that they would not let themselves be fooled any longer. Philosophy and science are not for the erudite but for the masses. Today the masses are more and more imbued with dialectics, but they must become conscious of this fact. They must consciously apply the laws of dialectics. They must use the contradiction with full knowledge of its implications. They must apply dialectics in the management of nature, of society, of ideas. The masses are capable of doing this because the masses are the makers of history, the creators of everything. Moreover, we must not forget that practice is the source of knowledge, that humanity is fundamentally an agent of change and that humanity, in its daily social practice, implements transformations and in the midst of them, learns and acquires knowledge. We must not forge that this knowledge acquired in practice is again returned to practice and in this process generates changes, developments, advances and transformations and, since everything bears a class imprint, humanity's practice, its knowledge and its transformations will also bear a class imprint, that is to say, knowledge and transformations in favor of or against the proletariat and the people. Practice is the source of knowledge, it is the transforming historical action of the masses of humanity. The masses, by means of their social practice within a concrete historical moment, equip their minds with the ideas which correspond to that concrete historical moment and therefore arm their hands in order to accomplish the tasks prescribed by history. Studying is also an indispensable complement of the process. Humanity is action within and in relation to a class and therefore it generates ideas. This constitutes ideology. Humanity's organized action is social transformation, advancement for the majorities. Engels teaches us to hammer home ideas with actions and this is a method which we have been applying in the Party since the '70s. We should persist in this.

Moreover, how should we arm the masses with the ideology and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought? The masses, taking into account the level of popularization and the elevation to new levels of knowledge, equip themselves ideologically from the standpoint of their concrete problems in the three fields: ideological, political and economic. Let us take-up the lessons of the Rectification Campaign of the 1st Plenum of the Central Committee and, taking into account the popularization and the elevation of level, distinguish between leaders and cadres on the one hand and ordinary

members on the other, differentiate the Party’s organizations: the Party which has a concrete membership, the People’s Guerrilla Army and its generated organisms. Also, let’s differentiate between the mass organizations fighting alongside us.

Let us take into account that, among other advantages, reaction has many means of information at its disposal, including a whole system of advanced media, newspapers, magazines, radios, television, etc. We do not have these means, but we can count on one resource which is incomparably more powerful — that the masses are the makers of history. Knowledge is generated by practice and practice is the product of the masses.

We have held that the masses must be turned into propagandists and agitators, that the masses must themselves fight and resist and that all these tasks they know how to carry out. They have always done it and therefore it would not be anything extraordinary for them to do it now. Which system shall we apply? From mouth to ear. The first instrument we have is the spoken word. This is a means which allows us to reach the deepest and profoundest layers of the masses. It allows us a more flexible approach since we can adapt the spoken word to the concrete conditions of the audience, be it an audience of peasants, workers, students, intellectuals, soldiers, businessmen, etc. This is a more flexible, more tactical method, always of course within a general strategy. Let us also employ the written word. We do not only fight with swords but also fight with pens. Let us use a clear and simple language. Let us use graphics. These are very good, for example for the illiterate peasantry. Let us use all modern means that we can get our hands on, without forgetting that from among all these means, the main one is the spoken word, since is the one which is most directly within the reach of the masses of the people.

Let us recapitulate, we serve the masses, we handle the word and it doesn’t cost us a penny, therefore we have the tactical capacity. For example, let us promote the expression of complaints against oppression. For that the only thing that is needed is a group of people who would recount their experiences of growing oppression and exploitation. If one person begins another follows and everyone will feel the strength of their own capacity to explode in anger. This spurs the people and moves them to action against the sources of exploitation and against the oppressors. It promotes the expression of complaints in many different groups and places. The word of one person joins the word of others and acquires the force of a hurricane. One person alone is weak, but together people constitute a great force. Another form of written mass propaganda are the *dazibaos*. Chairman Mao taught that these were instruments

of democracy and that to use them the masses didn't even need paper, they can use the walls, plaster, charcoal, paint if available. Write large characters, simple slogans that say what is wanted, what forms of struggle to apply, which are the positive experiences, which are the negative ones, that the masses judge their own leaders. In this way the democracy of the masses expresses itself, a democracy totally opposed to the trumpeted bourgeois democracy which is actually not for the people but for those who rule and exploit them. The power of the thinking and acting masses is inexhaustible. They contribute in every field – political, military, economic, artistic, scientific. Let us develop People's Democracy more and more again every time. Let the masses debate the plans and judge their implementation as it is done in the People's Guerrilla Army. In this way a higher understanding, a greater unity and a more powerful action is achieved. Let the masses, also by means of democracy, give vent to their capacity as agitators and propagandists.

But a great and massive ideological movement needs the Party as the leading force, because the Party is the most conscious part of such a movement since it knows, handles and applies the ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, the laws which guide the revolution and its politics, that is, the laws of the class struggle for the seizure of Power and the People's War as the main form of struggle. Without the Party the masses would be unable even to equip themselves with a plan. We know that a plan is an ideology, and the Party's plan is a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought plan. Once the Plan is made the Party must mobilize diverse organizational apparatuses, because a policy cannot be carried out without an organizational form which can embody it, be it the Party apparatuses, the Army, the generated organizations, the organs of Power or the organizations generated by the deep and profound masses. Then the masses would be able to realize that great ideological mobilization to uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, main Maoism, as a universal truth and Gonzalo Thought as specifically main for us, in its character as a creative application to our reality. And then let the armed actions hammer home those ideas.

Thus only the Communist Party can lead this great process of mass propaganda and agitation. Chairman Mao taught us: **“While masses and Party exist, all kinds of miracles can be accomplished.”**

4. THE RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN

Here today we are implementing the dispositions of the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee. Our duty was to carry out the Rectification Campaign, and the duty of the membership, the militants, fighters, activists or masses, was to put all this into practice. We are now about to crown this task and therefore we had to study individually and collectively the document “Elections, No! People’s War, Yes!”, and we had to debate it and apply it.

From what has been said before we can see the objections to the contributions presented. The main problem is how to apply the study of the document to today’s political situation. We Communists learn to study in order to apply, otherwise we would be merely intellectuals and would not be using Marxism to resolve burning questions. Studying in the abstract is something metaphysical, idealistic, bourgeois. We are not pragmatists either. We don’t study simply with a utilitarian purpose such as the imperialists or vulgar mechanical thinkers. We study theory in order to apply it in practice and to transform a given reality, in order to change the world for the benefit of the working class and the people. Therefore this is a problem of application and it could be dealt with on three different levels.

1) On the Proletarian World Revolution. On this topic the question is straight forward and the document outlines for us the burning problems of today’s Marxism: Revolutionary violence, class struggle, socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat and struggle against revisionism. Of these four, socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat is the main one. On this question the issue is Maoism as a new, third and higher stage, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, because with such an ideology we shall “assault the heavens”. In this lies the value of the document, a document which reaffirms Marxism and holds that to be a Marxist today means to be a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, mainly a Maoist. The document shows a clear understanding on the question of Maoism as a new, third and higher stage with universal validity, for the Communists, for the proletariat and for the peoples of the whole world. That is its decisive point. Therefore our position is rooted in Maoism and, as the Congress has pointed in one of its historic resolutions, the main contribution of Gonzalo Thought is to have developed the definition of Maoism as a new, third and higher stage of Marxism.

2) On the Peruvian Revolution. Here the main issue is that the document serves for the construction of the New State being implemented by means of the People’s War, through the People’s Guerrilla Army and under the direction of the Communist Party, while basing it on the masses which constitute

the people. In the document we can find very valuable points which we must apply today in the New State.

3) On the question of how to apply the document to each one of us: Each one of us is duty bound to grasp and embody the document in order to better serve the revolution. Under this topic, the direct concerns of those present here, are the questions of art and the questions of the role of intellectuals, and the answer: is to always put politics in command. Every study of Marxism shakes up people and the contradiction between the two world outlooks comes to the fore. Marxism gives hammer blows to the non-proletarian outlook and fuels the ideological forge. As in every task, three stages, each with its own contradiction, present themselves. At the beginning arises the contradiction between starting the study and not starting it. Starting already constitutes a 50% advance. Later, during the stage of development, the contradiction between carrying it through and leaving it half-baked arises. That represents another struggle and, in our case here, the question of leaving this task for another did actually arise. That issue even became a heavy burden for some people and that was a bad thing as it meant permitting the old, the bourgeois attitude, to take charge. We held discussions and as a result we agreed to cap this task as a priority or shock-task. This is a very useful method, a component part of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought style of work. It consists of concentrating all our energies in accomplishing the unfinished task, stretching our time until the task is completed, just as when we apply forced marching when the enemy is hot on our heels. In this way we pass the point of no return and do not let them catch up with us. When studying it is something similar and we do not allow the bourgeois outlook, which is present contending inside our own minds, to defeat the proletarian one. On the contrary, with this new ideology which we represent, we defeat the idealist, the bourgeois enemy which is alien to the working class outlook. Therefore there arises the resistance which the old ideas present and each one of us does battle consciously and voluntarily inside our own minds until we overcome such internal resistance. The old ideas say: how are you to leave behind that which has sustained you for so many years? The old ideas always make us see rotten weeds as if they were beautiful roses and thus the will is weakened. The shock-task method helps to overcome such resistance.

In the third stage, at the crowning moment, there also arises a contradiction for or against the completion of the task and the struggle continues until there is a decision for capping it and until the task is actually clinched. Having completed the study already constitutes a qualitative leap, and the

shock-task method has been a good instrument in contributing to the culminating leap.

You have accomplished the rectification task. This is nothing but a means of developing the two-line struggle in order to adjust us to the proletarian ideology.

How much have we advanced?. From lack of knowledge of what had been outlined in the document to a study and a debate which has enabled us to be equipped with the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought outlook about four fundamental and burning problems of today’s Marxism. From the contributions that have been expressed here we can conclude that the lessons learned are being applied to today’s issues.

The task has been accomplished and has generated a qualitative leap and an adjustment to the four fundamental issues of today’s Marxism.

Finally, it is good to emphasize that the document constitutes a serious contribution to the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought counter-offensive in the face of the converging counter-revolutionary revisionist and imperialist offensives. It also constitutes today a serious contribution for the struggle against the counterrevolutionary general offensive. Therefore in arming ourselves with the teachings of the document we are serving the Peruvian revolution and the world proletarian revolution. It is true that there is no such thing as a completely finished question since all knowledge, being in itself a part of matter, is necessarily relative and needs development. But this knowledge corresponds with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly with Maoism and therein we find its value. Besides, it corresponds with the outlook of Gonzalo Thought. Therefore it is Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought knowledge.

5. CONCLUSIONS

1. This meeting is very good, the work has been advanced. Let us earnestly undertake study while under war conditions. It is a helpful tool for the better handling of the war. Studying has prepared the conditions for a higher qualitative leap which reflects itself in practice.

2. While summing up the first contributions we dealt with the question of the contradiction between analysis and synthesis while studying, noting that the first contributions were focusing on analysis. But now, after the subsequent contributions, synthesis has been achieved in this very place and time and the gist of the question has been grasped: to take sides in support of Maoism.

The qualitative leap which had been prepared for became a reality. The limitations of the study were the lack of sufficient synthesis, but it did lay down the conditions for the qualitative leap. If one is capable of grasping analysis and synthesis studying becomes something more powerful and thorough and therefore the essence is grasped and the qualitative leap takes place.

3. Marxism has been grasped in four fundamental and burning issues.

4. The study is undertaken in order to apply it to today's class struggle. We seek means of opening avenues to fight on the battleground of living problems. One must bear in mind the prospects and not merely remain with what is written in the document.

5. This meeting is helpful for the maturing of certain problems which occur throughout the whole Party. Therefore our actions here are helpful to all other Comrades in that they give us experience. For example, the shock-task tactics as an instrument for the completion of studying in the Rectification Campaign is something very useful for the whole Party.

6. We must understand better the specific political task linked to the construction of the New Power by means of the People's War and to the prospect of the seizure of Power in the whole country. That is, of course, something necessary, but it has to be linked to its specific application here, which is to be artists and intellectuals. Therefore you must guide yourselves by the watchword of "serving the people and following the lead of the Party".

7. How much have you advanced?. You have undergone a qualitative leap while practicing an intense and systematic study taking on living issues. There is now a higher understanding of what is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and of the need of upholding, defending and applying it in order to totally transform Peruvian society and to serve the World Revolution.

8. If there is a qualitative leap, how should we consolidate the new qualitative leap?. And, how should we develop the new qualitative leap?. How to consolidate and how to develop the qualitative leap are two issues which relate to the question of serving the Party better and more thoroughly, two issues which relate to the question of serving better and more thoroughly the revolution in Peru and the Proletarian World Revolution, of serving the cause of the whole of humanity's emancipation, to the question of the march towards Communism.

We propose to continue with "Karl Marx" by V. I. Lenin in order to further our ideological formation and with the Reports of the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee in order to further our political formation.

On the Rectification Campaign with “Elections, No! People’s War, Yes!”

The effort that has been displayed is very good. We congratulate each and every one.

August 1991
Central Committee
Communist Party of Peru

MAY THE STRATEGIC STALEMATE SHAKE THE COUNTRY MORE!

1991

OUTLINE

1. Introduction.
 - A. Lenin.
 - B. Chairman Mao.
 - C. “On the Rectification Campaign With ‘Elections, No! People’s War, Yes!’”
2. International.
 - A. The Gulf; the USSR; Yugoslavia. Kampuchea. Middle-East.
 - B. The bankruptcy of contemporary revisionism.
 - C. General counter-revolutionary offensive and the hegemonism of the United States.
 - D. 25th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.
3. National. The Three Tasks.
 - A. From “Against Constitutional Illusions and for the New Democratic State” and from “Preparatory Session of the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee”.
 - B. Reimpulse. Establishment; “Structural reforms”; reinsertion. The toughest year. Commentaries.
 - C. Restructure. Privatization; reduction of State action; mass layoffs of State employees. Major reactionarization of the State: positions. Commentaries.
 - D. Annihilate. Message; Convention; Peace Council. Low-intensity warfare. Human Rights. Commentaries.
 - E. Strike movement and people’s struggle.
 - F. United Front.
 - G. Border problems. Ecuador.
4. Concerning the 3rd Campaign to Impulse.
 - A. The highest peak of the People’s War until now.
 - B. 3rd Campaign and Summary of Impulse. People’s Struggle Committee and development of the campaigns and counter-campaigns inside of the mobile warfare. Strategic Stalemate.

C. May the Strategic Stalemate Shake the Country More! (Great Culmination of the 3rd Campaign to Impulse.)

Peru, November 1991

This important document by Chairman Gonzalo is fundamental to understand the meaning of the strategic stalemate and the tasks to carry out the Construction of the Conquest of Power.

1. INTRODUCTION

A. “THE STATE”

It is convenient that we ask ourselves some questions about Lenin’s “The State”, it is useful because it aims to see the State, to pay even more attention to it. This document serves to see the process of the State and to understand substantive things both for us and to fight the general counter-revolutionary offensive. In it Lenin tells us, talking about the State and the difficulty of studying it, how it can be advanced:

“Because it is such a fundamental, such a basic question in all politics, and because not only in such stormy and revolutionary times as the present, but even in the most peaceful times, you will come across it every day in any newspaper in connection with any economic or political question it will be all the easier to return to it. Every day, in one context or another, you will be returning to the question: what is the State, what is its nature, what is its significance and what is the attitude of our Party, the party that is fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, the Communist Party — what is its attitude to the State? And the chief thing is that you should acquire, as a result of your reading, as a result of the talks and lectures you will hear on the State, the ability to approach this question independently, since you will be meeting with it on the most diverse occasions, in connection with the most trifling questions, in the most unexpected contexts and in discussions and disputes with opponents. Only when you learn to find your way about independently in this question may you consider yourself sufficiently confirmed in your convictions and able with sufficient success to defend them against anybody and at any time.”

Here, the most important thing is that we encounter this problem every day for the most different reasons in every little question, in the most unexpected combinations, in the conversations and in the disputes with the opponents; this is very certain, today more than ever. That is what is important.

He tells us later:

“I have already advised you to turn for help to Engels’s book ‘The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State’. This book says that every State in which private ownership of the land and means of production exists, in which capital dominates, however democratic it may be, is a capitalist State, a machine used by the capitalists to keep the working class and the poor peasants in subjection; while universal suffrage, a Constituent Assembly, a parliament are merely a form, a sort of promissory note, which does not change the real State of affairs.”

This is what interests us, the State **“a machine used by the capitalists to keep the working class and the poor peasants in subjection”**; and suffrage, the Constituent Assembly, Parliament, are form, not essence, content. The content, the reason for these modalities is nothing but maintaining exploitation, oppression. This is what interests us. And then he adds:

“The forms of domination of the State may vary: capital manifests its power in one way where one form exists, and in another way where another form exists — but essentially the power is in the hands of capital, whether there are voting qualifications or some other rights or not, or whether the republic is a democratic one or not — in fact, the more democratic it is the cruder and more cynical is the rule of capitalism. One of the most democratic republics in the world is the United States of America, yet nowhere (and those who have been there since 1905 probably know it) is the power of capital, the power of a handful of multimillionaires over the whole of society, so crude and so openly corrupt as in America. Once capital exists, it dominates the whole of society, and no democratic republic, no franchise can change its nature.”

This is very good, well explained and perfectly understood. He goes on like this:

“The democratic republic and universal suffrage were an immense progressive advance as compared with feudalism; they have enabled the proletariat to achieve its present unity and solidarity, to form those firm and disciplined ranks which are waging a systematic struggle against capital.”

The text that follows must be read, but we are not going to analyse it now; later on we will highlight it:

“It is not only the conscious hypocrites, scientists and priests that uphold and defend the bourgeois lie that the State is free and that it is its mission to defend the interests of all; so also do a large number of people who sincerely adhere to the old prejudices and who cannot understand the transition from the old, capitalist society to socialism. Not only people who are directly dependent on the bourgeoisie, not only those who live under the yoke of capital or who have been bribed by capital (there are a large number of all sorts of scientists, artists, priests, etc., in the service of capital), but even people who are simply under the sway of the prejudice of bourgeois liberty, have taken up arms against Bolshevism all over the world because when the Soviet Republic was founded it rejected these bourgeois lies and openly declared: you say your State is free, whereas in reality, as long as there is private property, your State, even if it is a democratic republic, is nothing but a machine used by the capitalists to suppress the workers, and the freer the State, the more clearly is this expressed.”

Here we must highlight how many are being deceived, how deeply rooted is this absurd idea that the State is free, that it is above others, that it serves everyone. And he tells us that this is true of every State, he gives the example of the United States, of Switzerland:

“There are fewer soldiers, a smaller standing army, in these countries — Switzerland has a militia and every Swiss has a gun at home, while in America there was no standing army until quite recently and so when there is a strike the bourgeoisie arms, hires soldiery and suppresses the strike; and nowhere is this suppression of the working-class movement accompanied by such ruthless severity as in Switzerland and the USA, and nowhere does the influence of capital in parliament manifest itself as powerfully as in these countries.”

He tells us, that they are very democratic there, they have a small army, but when there is a strike, they hire mercenaries, they arm themselves; here we are seeing something similar, but the People’s War makes the number of their repressive forces insufficient. Thus, they always arm their armies, they buy mercenaries, they defend their wealth and power. First, there is a paragraph that also deserves to be highlighted, talking about these countries:

“Nowhere does capital rule so cynically and ruthlessly, and nowhere is it so clearly apparent, as in these countries, although they are

democratic republics, no matter how prettily they are painted and notwithstanding all the talk about labour democracy and the equality of all citizens.”

Very good paragraph. No matter how much they declaim their democracy, nowhere is such a cynical and implacable rule; it is a cynical and implacable rule, no matter how elegantly they are dressed up and no matter how much they talk about labour democracy and equality of all citizens. Lenin tells us later, in those countries, the United States and the European countries: **“The power of capital is everything, the stock exchange is everything, while parliament and elections are marionettes, puppets...”**. We like this very much, even more today, because we are seeing the same thing in the Peruvian parliament; however, here they stuff us with democracy, but this serves to unmask their democracy and their democratic paradigms (the United States and European countries), and makes us see what this system implies; in short, the Peruvian parliament is a great example of their putridity.

And he continues to tell us:

“But the eyes of the workers are being opened more and more, and the idea of Soviet government is spreading farther and farther afield, especially after the bloody carnage we have just experienced.”

He speaks of the 1st World War.

“The necessity for a relentless war on the capitalists is becoming clearer and clearer to the working class.”

After he made the course of the whole State, starting from making us see the necessity of studying the problem of the State, he comes to the bourgeois State, these are the final paragraphs that we have read. Therein lies the bourgeois democracy unmasked, the fallacy of freedom of the State, the vile deception that it serves everyone and the demagogic spawning of labour democracy and equality of citizens, and exposed the wimpy condition of all parliaments. Elections are puppets, he tells us, because where is the power, the strength of the bourgeoisie, it is in the strength of capital; this is everything, he tells us, the stock exchange is everything; and by coincidence the stock exchange was recently opened in Peru. Arriving here, Lenin says: The workers question the bourgeois order, they understand the necessity of overthrowing the old State and therefore of developing a relentless struggle against the capitalists, and he ends up saying about the new system, the New State:

“Whatever guise a republic may assume, however democratic it may be, if it is a bourgeois republic, if it retains private ownership of the land and factories, and if private capital keeps the whole of society in

wage-slavery, that is, if the republic does not carry out what is proclaimed in the Programme of our Party and in the Soviet Constitution, then this State is a machine for the suppression of some people by others. And we shall place this machine in the hands of the class that is to overthrow the power of capital. We shall reject all the old prejudices about the State meaning universal equality — for that is a fraud: as long as there is exploitation there cannot be equality. The landowner cannot be the equal of the worker, or the hungry man the equal of the full man. This machine called the State, before which people bowed in superstitious awe, believing the old tales that it means popular rule, tales which the proletariat declares to be a bourgeois lie — this machine the proletariat will smash. So far we have deprived the capitalists of this machine and have taken it over. We shall use this machine, or bludgeon, to destroy all exploitation. And when the possibility of exploitation no longer exists anywhere in the world, when there are no longer owners of land and owners of factories, and when there is no longer a situation in which some gorge while others starve, only when the possibility of this no longer exists shall we consign this machine to the scrap-heap. Then there will be no State and no exploitation. Such is the view of our Communist Party.”

It is a good text to study and to understand the problem of the State and even better to make the broadest masses aware of a necessary subject, more so today. It is very good because after the first part, I repeat, it comes to the bourgeois democracy, it criticizes it thoroughly, it dismembers its essence and then he puts forward our State, which is to conquer the power, to make the State machine itself by destroying the old State machinery; and he says, we destroy all traces of exploitation, of oppression, and there will be only equality, and when there will be no classes, then there will be no State any more. The question is that as long as the State does not fulfil the programme of the Communist Party, it will not be a State that really benefits the class, the people; thus, only the New State can serve it. This is very good, it puts forward our final course and perspective; and what is main, it demands us to understand what is the State, to destroy the Old State, to raise the New State, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and with it transform the world (democracy for the people, dictatorship for the collapsed exploiters) and to march to Communism, there we will just leave the State forever.

B. “DEMOCRACY AND THE WAR OF RESISTANCE”

The other text is by Chairman Mao, in the “Interview With the British Journalist James Bertram”, on page 51 of his second volume, the title is “Democracy and the War of Resistance”; We have already studied it in the Preparatory Session of the 2nd Plenum, pages 355 to 357, it says:

“We are very interested in the problem of how to develop democracy to further advance our work for the development of the New State; here Chairman Mao deals with the problem of democracy and links it to the war. The Chairman emphasizes that democracy is not opposed to People’s War; he states that in August 1936 the Communist Party of China launched the slogan of Democratic Republic with three characteristics that we can specify as follows:

1. The State and the government are sustained in a front of classes, it is a joint dictatorship. Within the criteria of democratic revolution that we follow, the problem is to what extent the national bourgeoisie participates in the government, but the question is on whose side it is; our Programme continues to respect its interests. The problem is to develop the State system as a joint dictatorship of three classes, as we are doing, or of four including the national bourgeoisie, which in perspective we must concretize.

2. The government is organized according to democratic centralism, Chairman Mao tells us that this is a contradiction. In our case both aspects are necessary; the basis is democracy, the guideline is centralism. We must persist in democratic centralism in order to develop the New State and for democracy to express itself more. This problem is particularly linked to how to develop the relationship with the peasantry, specifically, to the leadership of the proletariat over the peasantry. They insist and will insist that we intend to substitute the will of the masses and their forms of organization, especially those of the peasantry; this is totally false, the question is that we created the New Power and we need to develop it more, and the basis of it is to build People’s Committees, thus we develop the community and the peasant work as a whole. We must make the peasantry see that the community is tied to a reactionary legislation, that the present organizational forms are to subjugate and control it; while the People’s Committee provides the peasantry, mainly poor, the concrete exercise of Power in all forms, in alliance with the proletariat and led by the latter through the Communist Party. We must strive to make the People’s Assemblies march, as well as the organizations that make it up; be concerned that the People’s Committee

organizes more and more the social life of all the people and that the masses obtain real and concrete benefits; make the people, mainly the poor peasantry, see in facts that the People's Committee, that the New Power benefits them and serves their interests; and strive so that those from below exercise more Power, themselves.

We must always maintain and manage centralism as a guideline and the key is the leadership of the Party. The armament of the people is concretized in the People's Guerrilla Army in its form of grassroots force and is the support of the People's Committee; then, it is the peasantry itself, especially the poor, forming this army, who guarantees the New Power. Without forgetting that the Party absolutely directs the People's Guerrilla Army.

3. The government guarantees the people the strict fulfillment of the rights of the people, among them political liberties, especially the freedom to organize and arm themselves.

Chairman Mao also says there is no impassable gulf between democracy and centralism, both are necessary. On the one hand, the government we want must truly represent the will of the people, have the will and support of the broad masses of the people and the people; and they must enjoy the freedom to support it and influence its policies as part of participating in the exercise of power. This is the meaning of democracy, to give it paramount importance. Likewise, the centralization of administrative power is necessary, once the political measures demanded by the people are transmitted with the approval of the representative body, the elected government carries out the policy. Hence the importance of the Assemblies, of the generated organizations, in this way the people carry out the policy. A decisive thing is the leadership of the Party. He tells us that only by establishing democratic centralism can a government be really strong, in our case if we had a foreign invasion, the establishment of democratic centralism would allow us to have a really strong government, much more necessary in those circumstances.

The Chairman tells us that systems of government in wartime can be divided into two types: democratic centralism and absolute centralization, depending on the nature of the war. The unjust war type generates a government of absolute centralism that does not need democracy. This government, in order to carry its counter-subversive war to a greater development, necessarily develops a system of absolute centralism which denies democracy, fights it, persecutes it, and this is

expressed more and more in spite of any cackling about 'democracy'. That is their course, they cannot get out of it. In a just war democratic centralism is a necessity, it serves the people and has the approval of the people. The more democratic the government is the more democratically it can carry on the People's War, that is why it is essential that we develop people's democracy. The key is to develop democracy, indispensable for our course: the conquest of power.

We need the people to be direct participants, protagonists, that the masses themselves wage more and more the People's War; thus the People's War will express all its force because it is a war of the masses. Of the mobilization of the masses in the People's War we can fear nothing, rather we need it; what can worry us is that the people do not participate in the People's War. On the other hand, imperialism and reaction in their eagerness to annihilate the People's War use the masses as cannon fodder, then a conflict arises and the masses, the people become more an arena of conflict and the contradiction between reaction and imperialism for wanting to mobilize the masses for their counter-subversive war and us for mobilizing them for the People's War develops in a bloody and complex manner. It is a fact that we must confront with clarity and great resolution; especially if today it occurs at a higher level through the multiplication and arming of the old *mesnadas*, reorganized in 'peasant patrols', 'defense committees', 'urban patrols', etc. Once again the masses are the great arena of contention between revolution and counterrevolution in this new stage of strategic stalemate. Objectively they do not represent the interests of the people, we do; they cannot win over the masses, they have to force them, oppress them so that they follow them and that engenders resistance. We can lead them because we represent their interests: and at the end of the day this hard struggle makes the masses come over to our side, that is why we need to give them more democracy. If we look at the period in which this struggle is taking place, it is not enough that they cannot represent them, nor is it enough that we represent their interests, we must strive to be superior to reaction in order to overcome their sinister campaigns and counterrevolutionary plans, to beat them on all levels. This requires developing our policy, particularly that of the Front, as well as the People's War, making it more massive. But these tasks are defined in function of how we handle ideology and politics; of how we concretize the Programme, especially the concrete one, how we imprint them on the masses with

actions that rivet propaganda and agitation: of how to organize the masses in all its modalities, mainly by making them arm themselves, exercise the New Power and see that the New State is theirs, for it is truly beneficial to them. That the masses really exercise the Power must be clearly seen in the country; it is an unprecedented fact, and we must extend it. Our central problem is to expand the New State, to develop it; that is our endeavor in this period which is guided by the conquest of power throughout the country, and to build that conquest.

Chairman Mao tells us that the nature of war determines the relations between the government and the people. This is a law of history. We are within that law, let us fulfill it with firmness, resolution and conviction that following that path we will conquer power throughout the country. This text is extremely important; study it and apply it.”

Finally we would like to insist on two problems. First, reaction, the Peruvian State in particular, in order to direct the counterrevolutionary war, needs to apply absolute centralism, if it does not apply it, it will not be able to organize it, much less develop it to defend its old order; having reached the strategic balance this need is even more peremptory, more urgent, hence the measures and decrees laws given in relation to the State and particularly with the role and direction of the Armed Forces which now has legal authorization to intervene in all areas and throughout the country. But this process is not yet finished, it is only one step in the absolute centralization, in that of bourgeois democracy, in the reactionarization of the old State, other steps will necessarily follow; therefore, their bourgeois democracy is more and more being torn to pieces by themselves, they are not free from it; the shouts, gestures and democratic poses of the old reactionary parties, the talk of parliament, are nothing but that in the development of the absolute centralization to combat the People's War. However, once again we must make it clear, we are not for the State coup and we reiterate that the people have never been asked for permission or consulted in this regard, they give it when it serves their interests. But, at present, the fundamental question is not the State coup, the question is the absolute centralization to which they are marching at this time, what we see unfolding is an absolutism of the Executive, a presidential absolutism, centering everything on Fujimori; this is the path that the reactionary nature of the Peruvian State is following today and what the Armed Forces support and serve while they are taking over the repressive and bureaucratic systems of the State and extending their barracks control over the population. This galloping State reactionarization is mainly the answer to the strategic stalemate, to the second stage

of the war we are in; it is a forceful political demonstration of the strategic stalemate we have reached, it is the simplest and best proof. Likewise, it is the most resounding lie to the hoax of “strict respect for human rights” that Fujimori and his government are trying to sell abroad in order to facilitate the growing intervention of imperialism, mainly Yankee, against the People’s War. Let us recall, moreover, that the 1st Plenum of the Central Committee (February 1990) established that, whoever would assume the government would have three tasks: to re-launch bureaucrat-capitalism, to readjust the State and to annihilate the People’s War; thus, the measures and legislative decrees also aim at re-launching and readjusting.

The second problem to insist on is that the development of the People’s War is linked to democracy, to democratic centralism; the People’s War necessarily requires and develops democracy, people’s democracy, not just democracy but people’s democracy. Thus, there are two paths: they for absolute centralism, we for democratic centralism; they for a reactionarization of the State, we for a democratization of the State, a people’s democracy, a People’s Republic of Peru. We need to develop more democracy in the New Power; all the actions with the masses must be done developing more people’s democracy, it is very necessary, it serves to strengthen the work. Just as democracy strengthens us, it weakens reaction; just as in the People’s War absolute centralism is counterproductive, for reaction it is the only way, especially in time of war, and even more so in a counter-subversive war.

C. “ON THE RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN WITH ‘ELECTIONS, NO! PEOPLE’S WAR, YES!’”

In this introduction, we must also take into account and study the document “On the Rectification Campaign With ‘Elections, No! People’s War, Yes!’” from August. It raises in its first part how to study; to pay attention to analysis and synthesis, to the relation of both. To simply analyze without synthesizing is metaphysics, analysis is necessary but it must lead to synthesis because in it the leap is produced, understanding is generated, that is the axis; let us pay attention to this problem.

The second part of the same is entitled “Celebration of the 25th Anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution”, it states that it is 25 years since the Great Cultural Revolution (it began in May ‘66) and that it is necessary to study it as the greatest political process of humanity, not only for its immense dimensions in terms of masses, but for the political level it reached and because it expresses the highest development of the Proletarian World Revolution, it is

the greatest struggle led by the Communist Party of China (CPCh) and Chairman Mao Tse-tung himself; the decisive struggle for the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, one of the great milestones in the course of the struggle of the proletariat for power: epic that has solved the then pending problem of the continuation of the revolution and has set the essential task of changing the soul, the problem of ideology, making us see that it is not simple but complex and arduous. His immense lessons are invaluable, but in addition we must always remember that with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Marxism-Leninism became Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, in synthesis Maoism; and this for the Proletarian World Revolution, the Peruvian Revolution and the People's War, is obviously of incommensurable transcendence. For all these reasons, let us celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

The third point raises the political situation. The document teaches how to study a text, in this case "Elections, No! People's War, Yes!", applying it to the concrete situation, because if we study it is to know reality and transform it, that is seen more clearly in this part. Thus, in dealing with the international situation and Peruvian politics, in the first point it raises the general counter-revolutionary offensive against Marxism and the revolution; and, as for the second, that Fujimori's government has not succeeded in legitimizing itself as he dreamed, but is becoming more delegitimized every day through its own actions, and today with the latest decree laws, the so-called legitimacy is shattered, more than ever it is in tatters. It is important how it analyzes bureaucrat-capitalism; it is remarkable that when it refers to the three moments, in each of them it proposes a preparation, an unfolding and a collapse. We think this is only at this point. In dealing with "The Boycott Develops the Tendency of the People Against the Elections and Serves the People's War", it highlights the great conquest year of '91: the strategic stalemate, to which we arrived with the end of the 2nd Campaign; the document says:

"That simple phrase has been sufficient to make the reactionaries and revisionists tremble and gnash their teeth. Most of them have yelled blue murder and raised a big scandal, they have even set up ridiculous and bloody operations against us, massacring the masses, like they always do, in order to 'show' that there is no such stalemate. Why? Because they are frightened since they perceive that their old order is going to perish and be buried. The words of the Party have never been proven wrong by reality. Everything we have proclaimed we have applied: We said we would start the armed struggle and we did with ILA-80. Today

we are entering the stage of the seizure of power in the whole country. We say that there is strategic stalemate, and we specify its character. Let us point this out more clearly than ever: 'Strategic stalemate and preparation of the counter-offensive means the enemy striving to recapture their lost positions in order to buttress their system and us striving to put the finishing touches for the strategic offensive by means of the Plan for the Construction of the Seizure of Power.' Let us understand this clearly in order to handle it better every time. We think that this is a task we must deal with thoroughly in order to appreciate not merely what Chairman Mao teaches us in this respect, but to identify the specific way in which this manifests itself here in our country.

Also, let us highlight how the entire process of 11 years of People's War has brought us the 3rd Campaign for Impulsing the Development of Support Bases as a part of the Great Plan for Development of Bases with the Perspective of Constructing the Seizure of Power. The importance of this process is rooted in the fact that it crowns the Plan to Impulse and is therefore a link for a new Plan. In synthesis, the accomplishment of this 3rd Campaign in May, June and July is something superb. Never before had the People's War reached so deeply nor raised its quality so highly, mainly in the countryside as well as in the cities as a complement. Everyone of us must feel a deep satisfaction for having served wholeheartedly for such a transcendental task regardless of the level of our participation. A few bricks joined together with others can make a solid wall. Let the traitors deny this victory. If they do so it is only because of their class interest and because they are paid to deny it, no matter how ill-paid they may be by Peruvian reaction and by imperialism. We are conscious of the truth of the reality in which we live. That is why we are able to see how in the Party, in the People's Guerrilla Army, in the New Power and in the masses, the achievements of this epic People's War are so much in evidence."

And continuing:

"Are there any signs of the echoes of this process of People's War? Yes. For example, for the first time the U.S. Senate has now debated the People's War in Peru. Therefore this process is reverberating in the very lair of world reaction. This is not the main sign but it is an important one. In this world there are some people who build castles in the air, for example, a traitor and genocidal like Fujimori, hangmen such as the Minister of the Interior General Malca, the Minister of Defense General

Torres Aciego, dyed-in-the-wool pro-Yankees such as C. Boloña Behr, the Minister of Economy, or reptiles and arrivistes such as Bernales, Tapia, Gonzales, etc. Individuals who, as thorough flunkies of imperialism and the ruling classes, dream of vanquishing the People's War by using its great advances in order to beg the 'hero' of imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism, and to defend their ultra-reactionary Peruvian State by obtaining from them their so-called 're-admission' into the world economy."

Thus it speaks of how the war, the 3rd Campaign in particular, is having repercussions inside and outside Peru; in another part it says:

"In the USA, the opening moves for next years elections are taking place. Bush is going after re-election. He has achieved a paltry success in the Middle East. That is sufficient for them although everybody knows well that he did not achieve his aims. We say this because a vile and bullying onslaught against a people can never be considered as an achievement, especially today when every struggle of the world's peoples for their liberation is a component part of the World Revolution (we are conscious of the class limitations of Saddam Hussein). Nevertheless, such is what constitutes 'success' for Yankee imperialism. Moreover, though they undertook that Gulf War in order to give impetus to their economy it has not resulted in the new economic impulse they expected and their economy continues to experience serious problems vis-a-vis the economies of other imperialist powers, although this fact does not imply that they have ceased to be an imperialist superpower. Furthermore, Bush undertook to fight a battle against drugs and in that field he is also having to confront his own people. This is because, just as in the case of the handling of his economic problems, where he raises taxes and reduces expenditure on social programs and clashes with the U.S. people, in this field he also has to confront the poorest and most exploited sections, particularly the oppressed minorities. Hence he does not obtain any results on that account. Moreover, this struggle against drugs is closely linked with the fight against the People's War in Peru and to the class struggle in the Andean region and therefore it has its repercussions in US political life. Therefore, we must grasp the fact that this affair would not end in September 1991. We refer here to the hold placed upon the so-called 'U.S. aid'. An affair in which, in order to receive such 'aid', the Peruvian government has to comply with the 'anti-drugs' treaty, a treaty stipulating in one of its parts, the need for

respecting what they call ‘human rights’, rights which are systematically violated by that same government. The People’s War in Peru is therefore a tool for use in the U.S.’s electoral struggle, but the factor which interests us is that it has repercussions in their own Congress. Besides, all this is a contributing factor to the struggle of our Comrades of the Revolutionary Communist Party and of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement with whom, because of this fact, we are more united in waging a common campaign against imperialism, mainly against Yankee imperialism, under the slogan of ‘Yankee Go Home!’. This is another example of the achievements and the echoes of the 3rd Campaign.”

Analyzing the last part of “Elections, No! People’s War, Yes!”, it emphasizes that it is the main one, because it raises how to judge Marxism today and calls us to reaffirm ourselves in how decisive Maoism is, finally, the fourth part of the document we analyze, points out how this study can be applied to the Proletarian World Revolution in the first place, to the Peruvian Revolution in the second place and how to apply it to each one of those who study; thus we can apply it on three levels. In this way, the document serves the rectification campaign; we must take it into account and study it.

2. INTERNATIONAL

A. COMMENTARIES ON NEWSPAPER SUMMARIES

We would just like to highlight a few issues. In the document of the 2nd Plenum, commentaries to journalistic summaries were introduced, in the international part we find the following: Following the change of name of the Communist Party of Italy the commentary reads as follows:

“The field is cleared! The “100 Marxist-Leninist Parties’ totally unmasked declare themselves bourgeois and shamelessly renege.”

Chairman Mao said that there were 100 Marxist-Leninist Parties in name; today we see how they have completely disavowed and are sinking into total decomposition, so the field is cleared. In February it was agreed to dissolve the Warsaw Pact, the comment is:

“Achievement for the United States and NATO; it opens major divergences in NATO and general rethinking on both sides, especially on the Soviet side.”

They have only said that the Warsaw Pact is disappearing, thus another triumph for NATO, but they ignore the fact that contradictions are developing

among its NATO members, we are seeing them. This is what the first part refers to, **“it opens major divergences in NATO and rethinking”**, both sides have to rethink their situation and, what is key; **“especially on the Soviet side”**; and we already know where the glorious USSR went to, a simple Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). And this is also good, it is no longer called Soviet or socialist; the label will never wear it and that is also good, it clears the atmosphere.

When in February the news about the Gulf War were hot, the commentary states in relation to how to analyze the problem:

“To analyze the Gulf War take into account what was discussed in the October Session and consider: 1) Conditions in which the war began, especially the assembly and preparations of the allied force headed by Yankee imperialism, the main gendarme of the world counter-revolution today emboldened. 2) Development of the war, highlighting: a) beginning and devastating imperialist aerial bombardment, showing the great capacity of the Iraqi resistance, of its people mainly, and the difficulties encountered by the imperialists to subdue a nation they thought to surrender in a few days; b) weighing of the diplomatic dealings that place Iraq between growing imperialist military pressure, Yankee mainly, and the hypocritical and interested Soviet advice of capitulation; thus undermining the anti-imperialist resistance; c) the ground offensive, a broad attack mainly by armored and airborne forces of the allies including their lackey Arab States, and, on the part of Iraq, not to engage in a firm and shrewd resistance (aimed at generating political changes mainly in the Arab people and sharpening of inter-imperialist contradictions) neither in Kuwait nor in Iraq, ending in the acceptance of all the resolutions of the U.N. Security Council. 3) Current situation, results and perspectives deriving from the Gulf War; for: a) Hussein and Iraq; b) the Middle East; c) the imperialist powers; d) the imperialist superpowers, especially the U.S. which is moving towards being the sole hegemonic power; e) the oppressed nations; f) towards a new world strategic system. Correlation of forces and contradictions (the main one is the same and its importance will increase despite the perspective of sharpening the collusion and struggle of superpowers and powers). 4) Lessons, especially for the oppressed nations and mainly for the Proletarian World Revolution.”

This makes us see the correct and accurate leadership of the Party. USA, main gendarme today emboldened; pondering Iraq; hypocritical action

of the USSR and powers; powers always seeking to crush with two hands, and difficulties encountered by the imperialists before the resistance of the Iraqi people; and to see the derivations. When the imperialists analyzed Hussein's actions they said: first, he thought that the U.N. would not support the U.S.; second, he did not listen to the advice of Arabs; third, he thought that his army was very strong, the fourth in the world; as a result of these statements they say: **"The first thing"**, that is **"he thought that the U.N. would not support the U.S."**, **"he expresses confidence in the U.N."**, and that is not good, one cannot have such confidence **"the second thing"**, **"he did not listen to the advice of Arabs"**, what does the commentary say? The third thing, **"he thought that his army, fourth in the world, was strong, big and powerful"**, what does the commentary say? This is important: **"The question is not to have engaged the Iraqi armed forces in a firm and wise resistance"**, there is the question, it is not a problem of large forces (if he had them), the problem is whether they are used or not, and they were not used. The commentary also says: **"In this last point, they exalt to the clouds the 'invincible American military power supported by the highest and most modern technology'"**; of course, if the Iraqi army was so powerful and the Yankee army has turned it to mush, they say, then it is super powerful. Thus, they exalt to the clouds the **"invincible American military power, supported by the highest and most modern technology"**; and what does the commentary say? **"It is a reedition of 'the main thing is the weapons', 'the power lies in the most modern weapons', 'weapons can do everything'"**, that is what they proclaim; and concludes: **"When, precisely, the first great lesson that we must draw from the Gulf War is that the main thing in war is the man, the ideology that animates him, the class he leads, the interests he defends and the cause he serves."** That is the lesson of the Gulf and what interests us as a lesson for the People's War and to unmask fallacies.

There is also this comment in the ideological problem but which also corresponds to the international question, it refers to the cry about the failure of socialism, as a result of an article by Luis Garcia Miro, in the editorial page of *The Commercial*, entitled "Capital and Labor"; these are ideas that in Peru are spread by reaction, the position against the revolution is systematic here. He says:

"The so-called 'failure of socialism' is part of the so-called 'defeat of Marxism' and 'uselessness of the totalitarian dictatorship of the proletariat'. This monstrosity is also proclaimed in the country, now concretely linked to the Fujimori government ('which has been assuming

responsibility for the past'). It is indispensable to thoroughly combat this rotten reactionary mess. Nothing of what has happened denies Marxism, nor the necessity and transcendence of socialism nor the unstoppable march towards Communism: an irreplaceable goal. The question is, we reiterate: the insufficient knowledge of the laws of socialism due to the short time of its development; the inevitable struggle between restoration and counter-restoration; and the sinister action of revisionism nursed by imperialism and in collusion with it. The question is, in synthesis, the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Faced with the campaign of imperialism and revisionism against socialism, we must: 1) reaffirm unshakably in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought ('Elections, No! People's War, Yes!' serves this objective); 2) highlight and spread the great achievements of socialism and its great construction: never, in any epoch of history, has any mode of production done so much, in such a short time and for such large, extensive and deep exploited masses as socialism! contemporary history and the peoples of the world are incontrovertible witnesses; 3) untiringly unmask all the monstrous exploitation and oppression of imperialism, mainly Yankee, and of revisionism, show how they sail in a sea of blood of the international proletariat and of the peoples of the world; 4) who has brought us here, who is sinking the Peruvian people in the greatest crisis of its history, who are those responsible, who are the ones who are responsible? who are those responsible? the three mountains that exploit and oppress the people: Imperialism, bureaucrat-capitalism and semi-feudalism; mountains that through the organized reactionary violence that is the Peruvian State, a State sustained by its Armed Forces as its backbone and in the bureaucracy, maintain the prevailing order of oppression and exploitation that still subsists; order and State headed and directed by the big bourgeoisie, mainly comprador, with the support of revisionism and opportunism of all stripes and the protection of its imperialist master; 5) 'sacrificing today for a better tomorrow' is an old story retold by Leguía, Velasco, Belaúnde and García Pérez, among others, denouncing it by unmasking Fujimori's 'new' hoax; and 6) propagandizing how the People's War is building a new society truly for the people and that the only perspective is to conquer power throughout the country."

These are comments seen in the 2nd Plenum, but it is convenient to study them again; in them the points are well condensed, and sometimes a long

exposition is worth less than a condensation that serves as a guide, as an orientation.

As well as the previous comments, those that follow are also pertinent:

“Direct attack against national sovereignty. Imperialism finds the norms of the U.N. insufficient, which, as everything shows, is its instrument; today it needs greater ‘rights’ to sanctify its unbridled aggression (as shown by the Gulf War and its current aggression and occupation of Iraq); it needs to ‘legally’ further curtail the sovereignty of the oppressed nations, a variant of the ‘restricted sovereignty’ of the revisionist Brezhnev. For this it hypocritically and artfully invokes to fight against genocide (precisely the genocidals!), in the name of ‘human rights’ and, obviously, ‘for humanitarian reasons’. The European imperialists are playing spearhead role in these approaches at the moment. Everything, and these positions too, is showing, that the usual means, mainly the military ones used until today, are insufficient for them to impose and maintain their domination; thus, they apply and will apply more and more brutally denying forms of national sovereignty and the most criminal and devastating warlike means to oppress the nations and peoples of the world and to stifle the revolution.” (Following the European Parliament’s request for a modification of the United Nations Charter, 20.04.1991.)

“See the historical context and perspective in which both Encyclicals were written: 1891, *Rerum Novarum* and 1991 *Centesimus Annus*; the first 20 years after the defeat of the Commune, when the old revisionism was going on the offensive, Marxism had not yet found the way to conquer power by force of arms, and capitalism was developing in the so-called ‘Belle époque’ complementing the formation of imperialism. The second, the *Centesimus Annus*, 35 years after the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, and 15 years after the same in China; when a convergent offensive of imperialism, revisionism and world reaction against Marxism is unfolding in collusion and struggle; when imperialism proclaims a ‘technological revolution’, extends its domination over the spoils of what was the socialist system and proclaims the definitive triumph of capitalism and bourgeois democracy; but when the proletariat guided by Communist Parties and with the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism learned to conquer power with the People’s War, to build socialism and with the cultural revolution to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of

the proletariat, although it is still pending to create in the class struggle the laws of socialism, to discover, understand and apply them fully and completely, to establish and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat taking power more and more from below to ensure its exercise by the masses under the leadership of the Party; and when the task of the international proletariat and the Communist Parties, as well as the deepest need of the masses, remains irrepressibly, today more than yesterday and tomorrow more than today, to develop and lead the Proletarian World Revolution to its triumph by sweeping imperialism from the face of the globe, to build socialism deeply and broadly in all spheres of society and with successive proletarian cultural revolutions ‘to make the Earth a paradise’: Communism, the beginning of the reign of freedom for all mankind! In this context, drawing lessons, it is necessary to analyze the new encyclical, conceiving it as part of the offensive of imperialism, revisionism and world reaction, although with its own specific interests, those of the Papacy, those of the Vatican and its theocratic dreams today sinisterly revived.” (On John Paul II’s recent third social Encyclical, *Centesimus Annus*, commemorating 100 years since Leo XIII’s *Rerum Novarum*; 03.05.1991.)

“If ‘the problems and situations of injustice and human suffering which caused its appearance’ still exist, as they really do, only today they are increasingly aggravated, widespread and totally unbearable because they do not correspond at all to the social development achieved, especially since socialism with its conquests and grandiose perspectives has been lived under the dictatorship of the proletariat (the only State form under which it can be built and developed); Communism exists and fights every day sustained by the class interests of the proletariat and the defense of the popular masses of the world, today and immediately in the midst of a complex and intricate class struggle and facing a convergent and sinister offensive of imperialism, revisionism and world reaction, developed in collusion and struggle to which the Catholic Church serves not only ideologically, but politically and organizationally; Communism today as yesterday and tomorrow, fought, fights and will always fight, unshakably sure of the final victory, under the red and unfading banners of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the all-powerful ideology of the international proletariat, the decisive weapon of Marx, Lenin and Mao.” (Following the Pope’s comments on the new Encyclical; 02.05.1991.)

What important problems are there in the world? In recent times important facts are the Gulf War, the lesson we have already learned, it clearly

shows the main contradiction. Another is the problems of the putsch in the USSR, it is the complete, total, definitive bankruptcy of revisionism; this is the positive and the main thing. As we saw, now the field is clearer; the bankruptcy is definitive; even the name they have given themselves, Commonwealth, paints them from head to toe. This is the sinister result of revisionism, this is where revisionism has led them; this again engendered horrendous misery, deep decomposition, and today it is sinking in oppression, blood and unstoppable collapse. It is necessary to emphasize the total, complete and definitive bankruptcy of contemporary revisionism. These are the two most important facts of the present time, first the situation of the USSR; second, the Gulf.

The war in Yugoslavia, like the one in the Gulf is a resounding denial to the propaganda about *"an era of peace has opened"*, and *"the end of ideologies implies an era of peace"*; in Yugoslavia we see the combat and struggle of the allies against a small country which they intend to divide. Thus, contrary to what they proclaim, war continues to be a means to impose and fight for hegemony. Yugoslavia is, then, a practical, forceful reiteration that war continues to be a means to hegemonize and subjugate; Marxist theory says it and practice confirms it. And these facts occur in Europe, in their own beards.

Other situations that jump out. Kampuchea is an example of how they continue to seek to solve old problems in order to generate new ones. In collusion, the superpowers and powers that make up the U.N. Security Council (China among them), have agreed on a plan for Kampuchea which they now execute under total control of the U.N.; the latter as an instrument of imperialism serves their plans and must direct the demobilization, form the new army, organize the bureaucracy, repatriate refugees and prepare elections. Thus, in Kampuchea the U.N. makes and unmakes as a proxy of the interests of the superpowers and the powers, mainly of Yankee imperialism, another example of the sweeping away and denial of national sovereignty!

Another important problem remains the Middle East. Its process shows where the bourgeois position and the principled fragility of the bourgeoisie leads (we see it in Arafat). The Palestinian people, as part of the Arab people, shows that, despite the blood shed and the heroic struggle, if one does not persist and if one does not lead the class, the proletariat, through an authentic Communist Party, that is Marxist-Lennist-Maoist, one abandons the road and renounces the goal, and the interests of the people are sold, trafficked. Today they are discussing how to end an old conflict for the benefit of Israel and the interests of Yankee imperialism; but they will create new contradictions, new conflicts.

The international question leads us to ask: the superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, continue to be so although the U.S. is moving towards hegemony; Yankee imperialism must be seen as the main hegemonic superpower of the moment. Thus, both are superpowers, they are fighting for hegemony, but the one who has taken advantage and is aiming at the sole hegemony is the U.S., that is why we must consider it as the main hegemon of the moment. There are two main enemies, the two superpowers (we are still in the period established by the Chairman, the period of **“struggle against the two superpowers”** has not yet ended; the fact that one takes advantage does not mean that the other has ended); then there are two main enemies, one is the main hegemonist of the moment, and we must differentiate them. In addition, there are several fundamental enemies, the imperialist powers such as Japan, Germany, France, etc. In short, there are two main enemies, several fundamental enemies and a main hegemonist of the moment, and a main enemy, in perspective, Yankee imperialism. And in front of the superpowers and imperialist powers, the 1st and 2nd Worlds, the oppressed nations: the 3rd World. Thus we condense the international political situation. We must study the facts, analyze them well; and do so starting from a question: what implications and problems do they pose?

B. THE BANKRUPTCY OF REVISIONISM

Let us always reiterate that revisionism is the advance of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the Party, of the proletariat and the people, and that it is not possible to fight imperialism without fighting revisionism. Lenin's great thesis is fully valid; furthermore, let us bear in mind that it is part of our program, it is one of the ideological points that head it. Revisionism must be understood in its course: in the 2nd World War, the action of Browderism and Tito; in 1956, Khrushchev and the capitalist restoration in the USSR; in 1976, Teng and the restoration in China; in 1985, Gorbachev, and Perestroika, a new revisionist counter-revolutionary offensive began in collusion and contention with imperialism, collusion developed as the main thing. Later we concluded that it had entered into decomposition; now the question is simple and concrete, bankruptcy of contemporary revisionism, that is the situation of revisionism.

C. GENERAL COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY OFFENSIVE AND U.S. HEGEMONISM

In the August document “On the Rectification Campaign With ‘Elections, No! People's War, Yes!’”, it is stated: **“Regarding the international class struggle, let us think that today a general counter-revolutionary**

offensive is being unleashed.” It raises that we have had a course that has to do with the development of revisionism, first “**new revisionist counter-revolutionary offensive, headed mainly by Gorbachev and Teng**”; later, a counter-revolutionary offensive of imperialism and revisionism in collusion and contention, a convergent offensive. Well, where has all this led to? To a general counter-revolutionary offensive that pretends to conjure up the revolution as the main historical and political tendency in the world today; that is what it pretends and that is what we are facing it. The document says: “**And who is aiming against the revolution? Imperialism and revisionism together, both of them, but of both, it is Yankee imperialism the main one, the one leading this offensive, since it intends to set itself up as the only hegemonic superpower in its struggle with the other Russian imperialist superpower and the other imperialist powers. This offensive is carried out mainly by Yankee imperialism as the main hegemon.**”

D. 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

It is the 25th anniversary of that great event, we must celebrate it. It is necessary to see the course followed from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to today. Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, 25 years later. 1966-76: the greatest and most profound revolution in history, continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat serving Communism and Communist society. 1973: defeat of Yankee imperialism in Vietnam. 1976: restoration in China. 1979: Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq. 1980: initiation of the People's War in Peru. 1984: Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM). 1985: Perestroika. 1988-89: Eastern Europe and USSR. 1990: Gulf War. 1991: “Putsch” in the USSR and, in Peru, strategic stalemate.

E. CURRENT SITUATION AND IMMEDIATE PERSPECTIVE

1) General offensive of the world counter-revolution. 2) Validity and historical perspective of the proletarian revolution. 3) Upholding, defending and applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to fight for the Proletarian World Revolution and Communism. Within point 3, the Party and the People's War play the main role. It is very good to see, 25 years after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, what the situation is. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution gave us Maoism; 25 years later we are fighting to uphold, defend and apply Maoism, and the Party with the People's War carries out the task making the main contribution. What is in front of us? The general counter-

revolutionary offensive. December 26th, Chairman Mao's birthday, is a good occasion to celebrate the 25th anniversary, because it is his greatest work, his great theoretical and practical creation, in the midst of which Maoism shone as the highest peak of Marxism. For this celebration serves the fourth part of: "Elections, No! People's War, Yes!", in addition to what we are considering here, also the relevant part of "On the Rectification Campaign With 'Elections, No! People's War, Yes!'".

3. NATIONAL

A. THE THREE TASKS

In the document "The Party, the People's War and the Boycott", the document "Against Constitutional Illusions and for the State of New Democracy!" is transcribed. It is good to take from that document how the economic and political situation was at the end of the fascist government, on page 56 it says:

"In 10 years, what economic direction has the government followed? In general lines, in 1969 and 1970 they prepared conditions for their plans. Then they applied the 1971-75 economic-social plan aiming at accumulating capital. This was canceled in its last year because the difficulties had already begun, the 1975-78 plan was approved aimed of a greater accumulation of capital. It was a plan that in its first two years sought the control of the crisis but without achieving it. In 1977, the Túpac Amaru Plan was approved, which applied the modifications proposed by the President in March of 1976, a plan to extend until 1980, on which date the crisis was supposed to be over. During this period the State fulfilled a main role, as the driving force in the economic process, and developed the State's monopoly. However, in the last few years, the need to reinvigorate the private economic activity was proposed, and in the imperialist order within which our country and the State operate, it prepares conditions for future development of the monopoly production of imperialism and the big bourgeoisie associated with it.

What is being proposed today for the country's economic process? Concretely, that the non State monopoly, or private sector, is the motor reinvigorating the economy, so that the expropriation, or 'privatization', of the great means of production which the State has been managing and concentrating, especially in the last ten years, and the greater

concentration of property derived from the crisis; as well as the establishing of new forms incrementing the exploitation of the labor forces, to restrict or cancel the benefits, rights and conquests of the masses, as usually happens in every economic crisis, and it is a condition to contain and overcome the crisis. This the economic period in which we now evolve, a period that in the short term benefits imperialism, the exploiting classes and their government in two important problems:

1) The financial problem, now centered in the foreign debt. This will demand to take other measures besides the ones already taken.

2) The economic problem, taken as the productive process, which demands an economic plan which has already been announced and is closely linked to the ongoing electoral process and to the 'social pact for the national salvation' that is being elaborated; between these two questions, the second one is more important, since the first for the most part has already been defined, while the second is more complex and has a long term effect in perspective."

12 years later we are in the same problem; it says: **"We have to pass the center to the non-State activity, to the non-State monopoly"**; that is the problem. The document stresses that the State, by assuming economic functions, prepares conditions for the future development of the monopoly production of imperialism and the big bourgeoisie associated with it, a matter which is independent; and points out that it has two tasks: the financial question centered on debt (today it is still a problem) and the economic plan which is the main thing (today it is the same). Where did they get entangled that time? in the plan, but did they solve the debt? No. So, any resemblance is mere coincidence, no; it is the Peruvian society, it is the bureaucratic road that keeps repeating itself, but at more sinking levels each time. On page 60, speaking of politics, it says:

"What is the period that we now live? Since 1977, we live in a political period which will last four or five years characterized by the third restructuring of the Peruvian State in the 20th Century, and by the development of the struggle of the popular masses in preparation for the launching of the armed struggle. This is a period that occurred in the second moment of the contemporary history of the country, that is, from the 2nd World War to the present; a period in which bureaucrat-capitalism deepens and the corporativization develops under the leadership of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie; a moment in which, on the other hand, the

conditions for the democratic revolution mature and this begins to define it by the force of arms in order to create a State of new democracy.

But, what is the immediate situation of the political period that we now live in? To imperialism, to the exploiting classes and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie leading the process, two matters arise: first, to carry on elections for the Constituent Assembly, and second, to open up the road to materialize the third restructuring of the Peruvian State. The second, is the main one because it is more complex and has future implications, and from which the bureaucratic bourgeoisie expects to consolidate its leadership role. On the other hand, the first task has the support of most of the political parties, who see in the Constituent their revival and perspective. To the people, the ones exploited and the proletariat, what is being proposed is that they do not allow themselves to be tied to the electioneering process, which opens the door to the restructuring of the State, and to develop the growing popular protest to mobilize, to politicize and to organize the masses, especially the peasantry. This second aspect is the most important one.”

Well, here it is the same; has the situation changed, again it is the same. The document says that they were developing in the third restructuring of the Peruvian State in the 20th Century; but, what does the Congress tell us, what does the Party tell us? That the old State needs a new restructuring, could it be the fourth one; it means that they are still within the Party’s highlights: **“The Constitution of 1979 has not solved anything, it has not satisfied either the Tyrians or the Trojans.”** But now what are they doing; they do not modify the Constitution, they simply step on it every day because it is on the floor, like all their laws, shattered, torn by themselves, that is the situation. So, the problem is still the same. Yesterday the general elections were a problem, and today how are their elections? They are still a problem, but immensely enhanced now by the development of the People’s War, it is that they are the same processes to renew their “authority”. How have their last complementary municipal elections been? a disaster, that is why they have no longer cackled; how will the next municipal elections be? will there be any, what will they think, what will they want, although they need them. But as in ‘78, restructuring continues to be a fundamental problem; it is the same as yesterday, although today it is much more serious, since its existence is questioned and a New State is rising up defiantly to confront it and, obviously, more peremptory; especially, the growing confrontation of powers, the increase of the power of the armed forces and the disarticulation and unhinging of the Peruvian State; Apart, of

course, from the violent sharpening of the class struggle driven by the general crisis of the system and the accentuated recession that further spreads hunger, unemployment and misery, and, most importantly, the development of the people's war in the strategic balance, the problem is that. How do they restructure their State? is what they are defining, are there advances; the question is simple, they are developing it in the midst of acute contradictions within the big bourgeoisie. Let us emphasize this, in the document: **"On the other hand, the conditions of the democratic revolution mature and this enters to define itself by force of arms to create a State of New Democracy."** It says "enter", we initiated with the '80s, it has already been 11 years and we are going for 12; and our war is a powerful People's War that until today the enemy does not know how to confront; besides, we are already in the second stage, the strategic stalemate, a transcendental conquest that demands an in-depth analysis of the national and international political context in which it unfolds. The transcribed document is a good text to understand how they cannot solve their problems and how they are more aggravated today; is their situation easier or more difficult today, obviously, they are today in a more difficult moment, more economically and politically sunk and, mainly facing a People's War in development.

From the Preparatory Session of the 2nd Plenum we should take into account what has been dealt with since page 31: **"(3) The three tasks of the counter-revolution and its perspective. a) Message. Program and stabilization plan. Character of the government. Message of July 28th, 1990."** up to page 47:

"Let us aim at substantive issues without forgetting that much of what has been said are generalities and demagogic statements like any programme of a reactionary government, more so if it wants to hide its positions. We hear false declarations such as the beginning of a new era, which we are accustomed to hear in every change of reactionary authorities."

B. SLOGAN AND APPLICATION

On the one hand, Fujimori expresses his ideology and adherence to Catholicism, a stale and deeply outdated ideology, but on the other hand, politically, it is nothing but demagoguery to play with the religiosity of the people and charge God with the responsibility for his mistakes; besides, he seeks the protection of the Catholic Church with whom he has already had clashes.

“A president like you.” False and hypocritical because he is not a representative of the people, he is opposed to the people and is about to exploit them more.

“Motto: Honesty, technology and work.” Honesty as a rule of life, motto of the ancient Peruvian civilization that Belaúnde also raised; criterion of linking himself to the Inca Empire to dress as a national. This first part of his slogan leads to fight immorality and to raise “crusade for moralization”, it is not new either, Morales Bermudez promoted this campaign, the result? Immorality prevails; immorality is nothing but a derivation of this old system, the rest is nothing but politicking to traffic with the good faith of the masses and to unravel consciences. He proposed a committee against corruption with people selected by him and answerable only to him.

“Respect freedom of information.” In essence, it is for the exploiters and their lackeys; key to creating pro-imperialist counter-revolutionary public opinion.

Technology. It is imperialism that raises technology as the new revolution; revisionism accompanies it. It is intended to replace the class struggle by a supposed technological revolution. Science has developed a high technology, those scientific and technological developments are the product of the transforming action of the proletariat and the people; but, the financial oligarchy, the big bourgeoisies, imperialism appropriate them, they are private property of the monopolies and instruments of exploitation. In the shadow of this a layer of technocrats has developed and artfully pretend to replace the working class, and make the intellectuals dream, especially the petty bourgeois intellectuals, with a false revolution, with a different path, without class struggle. Moreover, only with the revolution will science and technology be empowered as never before, but only with the revolution will the productive forces be empowered and benefit those at the bottom.

Labor. It expresses a bourgeois conception. The economists of the 18th Century argued that the source of wealth is labor; Marx made it clear, it is labor power, this generates surplus value and the accumulation of surplus value engenders capitalism, consequently, capitalist relations of exploitation. He uses the word labor to deceive with the term the petty bourgeoisie that takes refuge in their work and pretends to extend the deception to the class. But Fujimori goes further and maintains: *“culture based on work”*, this is to erase class character, he seeks to make people agree that based on work a new society can be built, without exploitation; another figment of imperialism and reaction. He says *“work is a creative source”*, simply work to make a prosperous society, and who

directs this society, it would be prosperous only for the ruling classes; behind “work” it conceals the relations of exploitation; behind the jargon of “*new culture of work*”, apart from being a strict bourgeois, reactionary conception of work, it conceals preserving, gilding, elevating imperialism. For example, he says “*international solidarity is invoked without results*” this is to make believe that imperialism and the oppressed nations, Peru, are in solidarity when the relations are of subjection, of subjugation; and in recent years to invoke the participation of imperialism in the country is to act against the People’s War; thus hiding the fact that imperialism acts to exploit us and to annihilate the People’s War. He continues: “*For decades [...] to take us out of underdevelopment*”; therein lies the orientation of imperialism which in recent years demands that, in the face of the insufficiency of capital, the subjugated States must base themselves on internal savings, on the capital they accumulate by squeezing their peoples, in synthesis, that they squeeze the class and the people even more. Backwardness has its roots in semi-feudalism, in bureaucrat-capitalism, in imperialism; but for Fujimori, faithful lackey, there is no imperialism, it is a problem of unequal and unjust exchange, is imperialism not sustained by the plundering of the peoples and that of its own people, its ‘aids’ are forms of blood sucking.

The bourgeois root of this new culture of work is also expressed when they say that it will provide the conditions for a market order, behind this tripe they seek to promote market economy, liberalism; as they said in their government proposal in May, before the elections, the problem is to create markets of various types, to form markets particularly in agriculture (it reveals a semi-feudal base); they say that this culture of work will allow a better distribution of wealth and avoid concentrations, that is, monopolies, but later we will see that they only aim against the State monopolies, Enci, Ecasa, Petro Peru.

Let us repeat, it does not say social market economy, only market economy. Well, we are going to deal with some of what this theory is so widespread in the country and in the world. In Bernard and Colli’s “*Economic and Financial Dictionary*”, the market is defined as the place where transactions of buying and selling or renting of goods, services or capital take place; the place where supply and demand are confronted. But, he tells us further on that the theory that defends the need for markets is liberalism, a position openly raised by Vargas Llosa, by the comprador bourgeoisie and imperialism. He defines it as follows: economic doctrine that affirms that the best economic system is the one that guarantees the free play of the individual initiatives of the economic agents, it does not say State; they are based on the fact that the individual and general interests of society coincide and there they are regulated, regulated; in the

market, then, the free individual initiatives concur, each one looking for the greatest benefit with the least effort and there they combine the interest of each one with the interest of the whole, with the development of the natural laws, proper; It is a free game that operates in the market and the State has no reason to intervene; it is the free concurrence of the interested parties, each one looking for his own interests and as the interest of each one and the interest of the whole are there, in the market, they combine the interest of all with the interest of each one. They emphasize natural laws that generate equilibrium when imbalances occur. Well, the bourgeois, reactionary theory of labor remains in appearance, it sees fetishism and by remaining seeing the relations of goods in their exchange they do not see the source, how those goods are created, those riches, they do not see the source of the goods; they do not see the root itself, the labor force which is what generates everything that develops in the economy, that does not interest them. That is why we must remember what Marx said, it is not work, it is labor power, it is not exchange of goods and services nor is it rent of goods and services, it is the relations of exploitation that have their own laws. This is the Marxist position on the economy. Their position, of the bourgeoisie, the market theory makes comparison of buying and selling or renting of goods and services and hides the existing relations of exploitation behind the exchange.

All this linked to what today is being said about market economy, free trade, freedom of association, human rights, is, therefore, liberalism revamped from the 18th Century.

What does the Peruvian Constitution say about this problem? Article 115 states: *"Private initiative is free. It is exercised in a social market economy. The State stimulates and regulates its exercise in order to harmonize it with the social interest."* This is the economic system of Peruvian society; it is in its Constitution.

A representative of the comprador bourgeoisie, Chirinos Soto, comments on this article and says: García Pérez said that if private initiative is not free then it is not initiative; and that if free private initiative is not exercised in a market economy then it is neither private nor free. There is the great herald of nationalist, democratic and popular revolution, he demands a market economy!

The greatest theoretician of the market economy W. Ropke says that the essence of the market economy system is that it can only occur in a competitive system opposed to any collectivist system, more clearly, opposed to the socialist system. It is, therefore, its antithesis. He also says that it is the best system to defend private property because in the market economy competition

can be expressed and thus the best conditions are offered to guarantee property, as he says, it defends it from all attacks.

From all this we can derive that it is these forms that allow the development of capitalism, its best advance, aiming at monopolies.

Reagan, who trumpeted this theory, said that all anti-trust laws should be repealed because the persistence of these laws in the U.S. limits the competitive capacity of Yankee companies compared to Japanese and German companies that do not have these restrictions.

So, we can conclude that its market economy system is the one that allows the development of capitalism and its development as imperialism because while imperialism on the one hand restricts competition, on the other hand it opens it up at world level, this is its contradiction. The monopoly imposes prices, generates markets but at the same time they compete with each other; that is to say that competition occurs in pre-monopoly capitalism in one way and in another in imperialism, that is why they are not against all monopolies but against state monopolies. Chirinos Soto himself says that the modern State intervenes to guarantee the market economy, it does not abstain, it intervenes to ensure it, so that its rules work. They, therefore, are against state monopolies but they even accept that the State may have companies under certain conditions and that they serve the market economy and if the State serves them, well, they use it. That which says that it is to close the way to monopolies is false, if not let us look at Germany and Japan.

Chirinos Soto says that the opponents of the private initiative say that it produces to profit and not to satisfy needs and that saying that is perfect nonsense. But, the nonsense is expressed by him because the production that a capitalist generates is not to satisfy needs, if he looks for which product is more demanded it is to obtain products that can be better sold which in turn allows him to produce more, to have more workers and therefore greater surplus value; it is not love for the consumer but that this is a means to obtain greater surplus value. So what he says that it is a system that allows better prices and higher quality is pure fiction.

The problem is that the current conditions in Peru do not allow him to express himself as he is, that is why he says that he uses the State to promote the market economy, and that is how he proposes in his May document, guidelines that are useful, they allow us to see a greater background than in this message and in the Program presented to Congress; However, May does not contain what guides Fujimori because it contains part of what Roca and those who

resigned from Cambio 90 think, but they all point to the same thing. He says, for example, that the market is a plebiscite of buyers, a complete big bourgeois!

Erhardt, author of the “German miracle” of ‘48, a Christian Democrat patron of Bedoya, says that three issues summarize the theory of the market economy: 1) it cuts inflation short; 2) it stimulates production in all orders; and, 3) it maintains the rules of the market economy. But if we look at Peru today, what are they getting? They have not even cut inflation, at most they have lowered it but not as much as they thought; there is recession and there is no consumption because there is no purchasing power, there is deflation.

A representative of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie Alberto Ruiz Eldredge in his book “The Constitution Commented” reports that it was the United Left (IU) which proposed the social market economy, defended the positions of what happened in Germany in 1948. Nowadays there is also much talk of imitating the German example of those times, of the “German miracle”; but, they do not see its specific conditions, Germany was defeated in the 2nd World War, the occupying military powers applied a system of organized distribution of consumption that the State itself guaranteed, and the Marshall Plan contributed immense capital to counteract the action of socialism in Europe. Having emerged from a fascist regime, “the postulates of the new order” were applied: personal freedom, social justice and economic efficiency; the German theoreticians of the market economy thesis state that this was based on seeing all the components of social production as a unit, for example, the cultural, moral, legal and economic order. That is the reason why morality is now so much pondered, in Europe they say that in view of the supposed expiration of socialism, morality is what fits; but this is not new, it comes from the old revisionism of the 2nd International, from Kautsky who stated that Marxism had no philosophy and that what corresponded to it was Kantianism, Kant thought that man in his action is guided by morality, he seeks the common good. The juridical component consists in thinking that through laws, without changing the class dictatorship, the situation of the people can be changed; here we affiliate the proposals of Hernando de Soto, the rural registry law, the administrative simplification law, the procedures for the recognition of micro and small enterprises, the informal sector, the provisions for coca producers, etc. The economic component obviously seeks to impose its imperialist system. The cultural component is another that they consider, and here we can also see Fujimori’s position, his new work culture. Of the four components, they consider the moral component, but this has a long revisionist history, in short, they hide the relations of exploitation.

German imperialism's system of social market economy sustains some basic ideas: it does not prevent competition between monopolies, it regulates monopolies, objective? To lessen the contradictions between them and with the countries it exploits; it creates a social security system aiming at a series of social benefits as a complement to its economic plans to appease the class struggle and at the same time it is a magnificent economic source; policy of price stabilization to stifle inflation seeking to lessen the crises. A basic idea is the union of an order of competition with an order of social compensation; they are all measures to appease the class struggle.

Thus, the social market economy is the system of German imperialism socially oriented to dampen the class struggle and promote class conciliation. Thus, the IU, by including Article 115 in the Constitution, was and is promoting the most powerful and vigorous capitalist development possible; they even forgot that Peru is not Germany, they seek, therefore, to develop bureaucrat-capitalism.

What is being discussed in Peru today? Although the theory is social market economy, what they are spreading and want to apply today is market economy without social, because that is what Yankee imperialism is mainly proposing, mainly through ECLAC, which says "economic transformation with equity", social is a term they sometimes use but they do not include its content; and equity is equivalent to justice and this is oriented by ethics, by morality. This is the course they are setting in Peru, it is the path of Vargas Llosa, of Fujimori, the great bourgeois lackey of imperialism, of the Yankee mainly.

In the petty bourgeois intelligentsia, which serves imperialism, these ideas have repercussions and they lubricate and elaborate a series of words, they have verbal critical *pujos* but it is real support for imperialism and they are always proposing ways to stifle the class struggle; an example is the English historian Toynbee who maintains that the proletariat must be raised to the level of the "middle class" for an amalgamation of classes, to form a social cushion and apply social justice, economic productivity, and thus ward off the revolution.

As we saw the new culture of labor is serving to gild imperialist exploitation, it serves to boost the market economy and aim against State monopoly, the latter is clear in a paragraph of the message in which he proposes his anti-monopoly bill.

Linked to this new work culture is also the so-called "*full participation*", it comes from the fascist government, in essence to use the organizations of

the masses controlling them with the labor aristocracy, with the union crusts, guilds, to serve as support for the old State; hence his proposal for a law of popular participation for the channeling of public opinion which is nothing but the “guild socialism” that Lenin already denounced, it is a false socialism, it is revisionism; it is the conformation of a social cushion to apply his system. We saw the same with Velasco, with García and now with Fujimori.

In line with this new work culture is the administrative simplification, which is not new, it comes from García Pérez. In turn, the harmonization of customs regimes and the promotion of exports of medium and small property products, but behind these is the promotion of exports of large companies. Linked to these efforts is the fact that Peru must reinsert itself into the international financial community, because in order to develop the new work culture it cannot disassociate itself from the world imperialist system; that is, to seek the development of the country under the subjection of imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism and its instruments, the IMF, the IDB, the World Bank, the GATT. Then, resolving old ties is nothing more than resolving the debt in order to promote foreign investment.

In synthesis, all this means that, as a corollary of this new culture of work, in order for work to be more profitable, to be able to sell abroad and to be more prosperous, it is necessary to be under the wing of imperialism through the international financial community, which requires solving the debt and providing the best possible conditions for foreign investment. This is the background of its propagandistic slogan, it has, therefore, a whole content, behind demagogic words it conceals submission to imperialism, to reimpulse bureaucrat-capitalism under imperialism.

C. SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY

He aims to blacken even more the situation left by the American People's Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), seeking to justify excessive measures, which the conditions left by the APRA forced him to apply shock. Politically it serves him for his tug-of-war with the APRA, as it served him for his links with the FREDEMO. Thus, a deep desire to justify and open links.

He puts himself behind the responsibility of the APRA government for leaving the country in a chaotic situation. We must fight against going after the APRA government to justify Fujimori's measures. But we must be clear that the problems are a consequence of the outdated system that exists in Peruvian society, of the general crisis of bureaucrat-capitalism, of Peruvian society as a whole; it is part of the collapse of bureaucrat-capitalism, we could not

maintain that it is the problem of this or that government because otherwise the government would be changed and the crisis would be solved.

He stresses "*deeper crisis [...] almost a war economy*". When the military government ended the same thing was said and it was proposed to restructure the economy; when the APRA took office it was similar but it said that in the face of this crisis there was room for a "*nationalist, democratic, people's revolution*"; today the same chant. Everything reveals the deep root of the collapse of bureaucrat-capitalism, the general crisis of Peruvian society, mainly of bureaucrat-capitalism. That is why they need to reimpulse bureaucrat-capitalism, that is why they talk about the economic base they have to rebuild.

They speak that it is a society in disintegration due to corruption, etc. But corruption is part of the system; because of violence but in this it integrates everything from delinquency to popular war, rejecting this way of conceiving it because it is to cover up that the State is organized violence and that popular war is the solution of class contradictions by military means; delinquency is also a product of the system. Drug trafficking is a problem that we must see in diverse facets; one of them, drug addiction is a product of social degeneration, it occurs more in capitalist societies, in the very bosom of imperialism, less in the oppressed nations; and this as a consequence of the action of imperialism, they want to fill their empty lives with drugs, they induce drug addiction. We are totally against it because the way out is the revolution, it is the transforming action of man, it is the creation of a new system and we know, we have the knowledge that this is feasible, that the more we fight the closer we will be to the conquest of power and, we will march to the definitive transformation of humanity and we will enter Communism, for these objectives we give our lives; drugs damage the mind, the body and reveal loss of perspective, for us it is a social problem and it is solved with the revolution. Another facet is the need of the peasants to produce in order to survive because they have nothing else to produce; for example, in the brow of the jungle hard corn is sown at a higher cost and lower yield, there are no roads to get it out, the prices they pay are not profitable, and it rots; the fruits are the same. That is why we oppose the eradication of coca, because it is a source for the peasants to live; historical experience shows that the action of imperialism to raze the plantations linked to drugs includes the collapse of the peasantry, e.g. Turkey. Another facet, it generates hard currency, dollars, which act in the economic process of the oppressed countries, it is seen in Colombia, Bolivia, Peru; in this one there are about 1.500.000.000 dollars coming from drug trafficking. We must distinguish well, what interests the peasantry and in what way these dollars have an impact on

the productive process. They are material realities of the economic processes and economy is not a moral problem; besides, there is much talk again that politics should be guided by morality but for centuries the difference between politics and morality has been established, Machiavelli was in favor of separating them, the other is an ecclesiastical, medieval approach; this apart from the fact that both morality and politics are of class and that politics is always command and guide.

The policy of the Party on the coca growers and drug trafficking has been correct and shrewd; moreover, it is being confirmed even in the government's proposals, of course, with the objective of winning over those masses and, to keep them away from the people's war, something similar happens with the Unified Mariáteguist Party (PUM) which has just realized that the coca growers live from that crop.

Thus, in violence there are, on the one hand, scourges derived from the system; and, on the other, violence organized in People's War that fights the old State that applies reactionary violence to subjugate the exploited and oppressed classes, violence and just people's war against counter-revolutionary violence and unjust war.

He highlights the fall in economic production, he speaks of a chaotic economy; he deals with the deficit situation of the public companies Petro Peru, Electro Peru etc., but he is silent that these deficits are because they provided cheap energy services to the industry which is the biggest consumer, he is silent that the people have always paid excessive tariffs. This involves privatization of State enterprises, there are about 5.000.000.000 dollars at stake, it is an immense booty which the big bourgeoisie wants to seize and that is why its factions are fighting, besides the fact that it is within the tendencies of imperialism to promote non-state economies. This would force them to take emergency measures, that is to say, to impose burdensome tariffs on the masses.

The fact that they are not going to privatize all the industries is only part of the fact that there is not enough capital to buy them and if they were sold today they would be sold off; that is why they seek to refloat them with the effort of the workers themselves and workers in general in order to sell them once they are refloat. This is going to be the subject of a long debate, moreover, it has been going on since 1979.

Alarming depressed industry, accelerated decapitalization reveals a decayed industry because its system constrains, does not develop; furthermore, they are within the imperialist system and believe that Peru's problem is that it has a location within the world productive system.

The “agricultural system is prostrate”, proof of the subsistence of semi-feudalism, successive decades it is sinking and what happened to the so-called agrarian reform? What happened to the three agrarian laws of the ‘60s? Was it not said that this would renew agriculture and promote industry? The fact is that this reform was made under the criteria of Kennedy, of Yankee imperialism at that time and when they were seeking to suffocate the masses and expand markets, today other criteria guide them.

The mining industry suffers severe crisis. Root? It has to do with international prices, with the non-renewal of large mining companies because it continues to be a system based on oppression and exploitation to obtain greater surplus value, not to develop, to advance, not to reinvest, because bureaucrat-capitalism is more rentier and parasitic.

“*Repressed or dammed up inflation of 1.200%.*” This was said during the military regime and was the justification for the Ulloa’s disbursement. Today he proposes 1.200% inflation, that is 6 times more than the indexes pointed out by all, even Moreyra criticized him; background? To justify atrocious measures against the people.

D. GENERAL GUIDELINES

Let us note that we are the ones who have distributed the themes of the message for better analysis, in this part we have also differentiated 10 guidelines.

1. Crisis as a basis for development. As we have inherited a disaster, he says, we have to overcome the crisis first and then lay the foundations for development. This is nothing but the most recalcitrant position of the IMF, even today they are developing criteria to manage inflation and boost production simultaneously; but here they take the most monetarist of measures, first strike to reduce inflation and after these blows not even to develop but to lay the foundations for development.

This leads them to state that ‘Peru needs the effort of all’, the same as Belaúnde, García, Morales, Velasco, eternal cantaleta; but they cannot unite all because there are antagonistic interests, the unity they seek is theirs against the class and the people to defend the interests of the big bourgeoisie, of the land-owners, of imperialism.

He conceives sovereignty as ‘solid economy’, that is, if imperialism comes because we give it the best conditions and begins to generate a crust of growth, builds highways, buildings, all with the sweat of the people and with greater exploitation, then, there would be sovereignty. Is Mexico sovereign?

Brazil? Chile? It is not understood that national sovereignty means emancipation from imperialism, the only way to make a developed economy, and it becomes concrete with the revolution.

2. Program of economic stability. For them the cause of inflation is the deficit, that is why all their measures are aimed at reducing it, this is another of the recalcitrant positions of the IMF. They say that they are going to reduce three gaps: 1) fiscal gap, they put it in first place because they consider it to be the main gap; 2) external, it involves trade relations with foreign countries, balance of payments, trade balance, how much we sell, buy, owe, they are interested in solving the debt above all; and, 3) poverty gap, they say that they are going to eradicate critical poverty in four years, who believes them? Nobody.

To promptly dictate measures of a tributary nature', aims at the fiscal gap and for that he asks for powers to legislate in tributary matters. They do not want to apply what the Apra did in 1985-86: increase consumption to give economic impulse. Therefore, they do not even dream of wage increases; their policy is deflationary, they aim to reduce purchasing power.

3. Micro, small and medium-sized enterprises as the basis for development: the axis. This type of medium and small companies has become the re-activating axis, he says; we have already analyzed this, they comprise the largest number of EAP but not the largest number of GDP. Let's see some data:

ENTERPRISES IN PERU

Micro-enterprises	75.000	56,69 %
Small enterprises	15.000	11,34 %
Medium enterprises	2.100	1,59 %
Big enterprises	188	0,14 %
Handicrafts	40.000	30,24 %

We could make the following separation:

Micro	7,000	56,69 %	
Small	15.000	11,34 %	
Handicrafts	40.000	30,24 %	
	130.000	98,27 %	Petty-bourgeois property.
Medium	2.100	1,59 %	Middle-bourgeois property.
Big	188	0,14 %	Big-bourgeois property.

They say that there would be 130.000 companies in what they consider to be the axis, but they include medium-sized companies, and that is the trap; they also include handicrafts, so 130,00 is 100% of the so-called small industry.

INDUSTRIAL EAP GDP

Micro	30,4%	8,0%
Small	17,4%	13,0%
Handicrafts	24,6%	5,0%
Medium	16,2%	28,0%
Big	12,3%	46,0%

If we put together the micro, small and handicraft industries we would have 26% of the GDP; the medium industry contributes with 28% alone, that is its strength; and the large industry contributes with 46%, that is, the largest production is contributed by the large industry and comprises 12,3% of the industrial EAP, with few workers it contributes with the largest productive percentage, this is typical of any capitalist system, in addition, with only 0,14% of companies. So, how can micro, small and medium production be the axis of economic development, it cannot be the engine, it is not real within its system.

So, what is the background of this approach? What it is all about is that it is the largest number of companies and comprises the largest number of workers; consequently, what they want is to use all that mass to generate jobs; but under what conditions do they work at that level of companies? in the worst conditions, they produce at very low prices using excessive labor force, they apply a family work modality, their prices are deeply depressed and they produce for the broad mass, thus reducing the salary. In short, they seek to provide employment, to sell at the lowest prices, to have a cushion to cushion and lower wages throughout the industrial sector.

Besides the fact that they tie all this mass to their productive system for the benefit of big production, the big bourgeoisie and imperialism, seeing that only 30% of small production is in regular conditions to produce, therefore, it will be based on the collapse of the other 2/3, consequently its middle and lower strata will produce in increasingly impoverished conditions.

Therefore, to propose that it be an axis implies sinister exploitation and is part of the U.N. orientations.

How does it aim at minimizing the proletariat? Of course there is a reduction of the proletariat in Peru, this was already analyzed by the Party in

the '70s, '78, '79, in absolute figures it is growing but in relative proportion it is decreasing. But what does it say about the proletariat? The EAP of 7.200 has 10% unemployed, 75% of underemployed and 15% of adequately employed; then, he says, why worry about the stable workers and those who have jobs if they are a minimum number, it is better to worry about the immense majority, of course 75% plus 15% is 85%, openly against the class; with this pretext they want to use this mass against the class; but, if within this mass there are 2/3 in very poor conditions and only 1/3 in bearable conditions, the tendency will be for those at the bottom to unite and fight together. We will come back to this because we need to define specific policies for this problem.

Throughout the message he says nothing about the proletariat, nor about the peasantry because when he refers to the peasantry he is referring to the peasantry of the coast and those who live in the native communities, the peasantry of the highlands does not exist. He favors handicrafts for export and opens the jungle to large investments.

Referring to big business, he says that it is indispensable to eliminate labor conflicts by the employers and workers themselves, the State has no reason to intervene; that in this way the free exercise of association is expressed, the freedom to be part or not of the unions, he says that no one should be forced, that is why he points against the labor exchange. Imperialism wants, then, an unbridled system.

Labor stability and productivity are two complementary elements, not antagonistic', he says, which means that if you work well, if you produce well, you have stability, if not, you do not; if even businessmen propose that stability be respected, their reason is clearly to contain the explosiveness, they do not want to add fuel to the fire, but Fujimori does not care about anything as long as he behaves well before imperialism.

4. The State must serve society. "*Excessive bureaucratization*" implies reducing red tape, that by legal means the order can be changed. It speaks of the "*inertia of the State*", it registers what the Party denounced that its State apparatus is a hulk, becoming more and more stagnant; that is why they propose the need to restructure it, but here it does not define how. It can only be seen that they seek to speed up the State's progress, hence their administrative reorganization; and thus, they aim at laying off State workers. To state that "*the State must at all times serve society*" is to hide the class character of the State, to hide the dictatorship of the landowners and the big bourgeoisie. For it to be a "*promoter of development*", as it says, is nothing but a State that facilitates the application of the market economy.

5. Drug trafficking. To “*integrally address drug trafficking*” what he seeks is a global solution and his problem is to resolve the contradictions he has with the U.S. in order to better facilitate his participation in counter-subversive action and in the whole process of capitalist restructuring. This does not hinder its agreement to work within the Yankee plan; it is not opposed, what it wants is better conditions for its action, to use the problem of “narcoterrorism” and the importance it has for the U.S. in order to benefit economically, to link it to the solution of the debt, to sell Peruvian products, to export them to the U.S., to link it to the Bush initiative for Latin America, the Brady plan. In essence, to use the problem of the People’s War to receive strong economic aid.

6. Subversive violence, structural basis and dialogue. “*For 10 years the people of Peru have been suffering from subversive violence [...] more than 15.000 victims and damages for more than 17.000.000 dollars.*” He stopped short and does not go into specifics, but what he intends to do is to present the situation as very serious in order to have a wide margin to apply his plans.

“*The causes of subversion are to be found in structural violence, in cultural and ethnic marginalization, in the exploitation to which the poorest layers of our population have been subjected.*” One sees a concession to the approaches of the IU, insofar as it seeks their support to combat the People’s War. This can best be seen in the major guidelines and in the Programme set forth by the Prime Minister. In essence, this criterion is the basis for a much more developed anti-subversive war, within the criteria of the Yankee imperialist strategy; so revisionism, the IU is the support and backing of that Yankee counter-subversive strategy. Why do Polay, the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) have their “understanding”? For dialogue and to set in motion their path of amnesty and enlistment.

“*The centralist State has ignored for decades the real Peru that exists in the Andes. It has allowed a despotic and abusive power to impose itself there*”, on that basis of structural violence he says that a State has arisen that has entered the countryside and has imposed a despotic power; when he speaks of this he refers to the semi-feudal base of society but he does not say so because that is not how he thinks; however, that is the background, there is an objective reality that cannot be ignored and he reflects it from a reactionary position. He is also referring to the power exercised by the landlords, what is he looking for? To impose the State in the emergency zones and to evolve semi-feudalism, but as it is not feasible, they are going to increase the presence of the Armed Forces in those zones and that their power be exercised by the same Armed Forces. Therefore, the contradiction between the Party and the Armed Forces will be strengthened.

“What an unworthy people ours would be if it had remained impassive in the face of outrage and abuse”; demagogic and hypocritical phrases because he is against the People’s War, he is covering up the strategic plan he has to apply, the most developed counter-subversive war under the wing of Yankee imperialism, now they will still be able to command those here but later they will put an American commander in charge.

“All that force, that logical protest has been channeled by fanatical ideologies that are trying to destroy the system of representative democracy”; he said that the people could not remain impassive in the face of abuse etc. but that it has been the fanatics who have used that protest of the masses, they manipulate it by trafficking with the interests of the people. Therefore, he pretends to separate the guerrilla from the masses, to aim, to focus the point of attack against those fanatics; he thinks that we are detached from the masses and that we are authoritarians who impose ourselves on them against their will, when the reality is that the People’s War is a consequence of the development and sharpening of the class struggle in Peru.

“Only the definitive elimination of injustice and marginalization can put an end to subversion. With this my government will give effective priority to the development of the Andean and jungle zones of our country today convulsed by terrorism”; that of putting an end to injustice and marginalization is part of the most developed Yankee theory of the counter-subversive war, that is why it will seek to induce progress, put patches, palliate, can they put an end to injustice? no, it is demagogic coverage; the main issue is to destroy those fanatics with rifles, genocide and repression. They seek to introduce development plans in the Andean zones and the jungle to take away our base but as this takes time and demands money, which they do not have, these are demagogic words, at most they will form a cushion through the property, titles, lands, which will allow them to cushion and on that to focus on military razing due to the impossibility of ending injustice because otherwise their situation would be blown up. What is new and progressive? It is a plan to better apply the Yankee strategy of counter-subversive or low-intensity warfare, hence it is absurd for the MRTA to say *“on that basis we can dialogue”*.

“It should not be interpreted as weakness my inclination to dialogue even with the armed groups as long as they lay down their arms”, he is not at all inclined to dialogue because he decides at the margin of his own parliament, rather he is authoritarian and arrogant; the fact that they lay down their arms to talk does not make sense because in Colombia, in El Salvador the talks were held in arms and then they laid them down according to the results. Therefore, he is demagogically

holding up dialogue to present himself as a man of peace who seeks to pacify without blood when in reality he relies on bayonets.

"The people have elected me to seek the unity of Peruvians, among other things, including the misguided ones"; a problem of misguidance? Are they not fanatics who seek to destroy the system?

"I am trying in very good faith, and I want the international community to be a witness of my fervent purpose, to finally introduce peace through reason and dialogue." He plays for the stands and seeks prestige, to find support for his genocide, in order to say in the future: my good faith clashed with the coarseness of the fanatics. That is why we insist, how does the MRTA base itself on this farce to ask for dialogue; Fujimori's position is not to dialogue but to lay the foundations to apply a more developed counter-subversive war and to apply the Yankee counter-subversive strategy of the so-called low-intensity war and he uses dialogue as demagoguery. What is happening is that the MRTA has begun its path of amnesty and enlistment, preparing its capitulation to serve the order, participate in it and fight us according to the benefit they receive.

7. Crisis of the Judicial Power. It does not even consider how to restructure the Judicial Power as part of the restructuring of the State, what it does is to touch the exercise of Justice in order to aim against the Judicial Power and seek to control it by dealing with all the deficiencies of justice that are derived from the outdated order of its own system. It aims to move the lumpen as fascists have done in history, in order to have a base for their shock forces, using the lumpen to attack the other powers is a long-standing fascist practice.

Anyone who says that he is not targeting the probity of the magistrates is nothing more than a cover. The problem is not only that he is violating his own legal order but that he is expressing fascist signs that are very notorious in Fujimori.

8. Women. Another demagogic traffic, he salutes the heroism of women but raises food prices through the roof; *"terms and equality with men"*, another farce, he should start by enforcing the laws and norms of his Constitution since nobody complies with them; to speak of equality within this impossible system, so they are trinkets to sell. *"Cradles [...] health [...] recreation"*, tales retold. "Mothers' clubs" wants to control them for their plans. And as a great vindication of women he proposes to increase the forces of the female police, of course what he wants is that women participate in counter-subversive action.

9. Children. The child is not an appendix of the mother, so what he wants is to traffic. The U.N., imperialism, has always sought to use children to

traffic, in recent years they are promoting the problem of survival when they themselves are responsible for the 15.000.000 children in the world who die of hunger every year. What is the concrete plan to solve this problem? Ethics and morality do not solve the scourge of child hunger in oppressed nations. He proposes the approval of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and thus the matter is solved; but if Peru has signed the American Declaration of Costa Rica and there the rights of the child are raised, it has also signed the Declaration of Human Rights and there is also the problem of the child, then why does it not enforce these commitments? why does it not take concrete measures? for example, its PES (Social Emergency Program), what good is it for the children? nothing. Therefore, as part of the interests of imperialism, his masters have ordered him to sign such a Convention and he, a faithful lackey, complies with it.

10. Human Rights In Peru the first right recognized by the Constitution is the respect for the human person, even the right to a niche is recognized; we also have international agreements but none of them are complied with; Fujimori says that he will enforce them, but what do we see daily? mass graves, disappeared, prisoners, genocide and in the streets of the capital, repression of all protest marches; how is the right to strike, freedom of expression, evictions are the order of the day, etc. What we are experiencing is the most violent contradiction between the rights conquered and established in the Constitution and its laws and the material reality. The Commission does not even exist and the fact that he wants to preside over it is to control it. We have been hearing that we will fight subversion with the law in our hands since the Belaúnde government and genocides, unpunished murders, rapes, etc. continue. Furthermore, Peru is not characterized for being respectful of Human Rights and precisely this is one of the issues that North American imperialism is determined to spread in the oppressed nations, obviously as part of its imperialist demagoguery to continue oppressing and exploiting and, for its counter-subversive war; it is a hot mess.

It ends like this: *"Your vote was for hope [...] message of renovation [...] contributed to democracy"*; but if the people were forced to vote and Fujimori obtained 0,6% of the vote less than the absenteeism in the first round; and only in the second round with the collusion of revisionism, the APRA, imperialism, the Armed Forces and Peruvian reaction, did he reach the Presidency. Therefore he cannot come to us with the old story of people's support.

He wants to foment patriotism. This homeland of ours is a nation in the making and only the revolution will achieve it, will unite it and make it a

great nation; besides, the borders have been conquered by the people with their blood and it has been the people who have defended them.

He ends up dry and mediocre, he feels he is a technocrat, not a politician, he is making merits to gain prestige before his imperialist masters, mainly Yankee, he does and undoes without consulting anyone but he presents himself as if he were a democrat; he reveals the most disgusting cynicism and once again traffics with the religiosity of the people. *"May God enlighten the people and me"*, he says; he means "tomorrow I blame God for the problems caused".

Why is it good to keep it in mind? Because there it is necessary to compare what he said, how we appreciate and what reality says, that is what is important then. Pay attention to the first point: "Motto and application". There his slogan is analyzed, very important is the analysis on the question of work, how he considers work, the so-called *"culture based on work"*; he says here: *"This is to erase the class character, it seeks to make people agree that based on work a new society can be built without exploitation"*, another invention of imperialism and reaction. It says *"work is a creative source"*, simply work to make a prosperous society? Who runs this society? It would be prosperous only for the ruling classes, behind "work" it conceals the relations of exploitation, behind the sounding *"new culture of work"*, apart from being a strict reactionary bourgeois conception of work, it conceals preserving, gilding, elevating imperialism. He says: The bourgeois root of this *"new culture of work"* is also expressed when he says that *"this will give the conditions for the market order"*, behind this nonsense he seeks to promote the market economy, liberalism, as he said in his government proposal in May, before the elections: *"the problem is to create markets of diverse types, to form particularly in agriculture' reveals a semi-feudal base, he says that this work culture will allow a better distribution of wealth and avoid concentrations"*, that is to say, monopolies, but later we will see that he only targets State monopolies: Enci, Ecasa, Petro Perú. And what are we seeing today? And the "anti-monopoly" law? It is only against the State, it is to maintain the monopolies, to preserve them, to try to regulate their relations so that they do not clash but to maintain their reality, not denying their existence, but how to prevent them from clashing. We must take into account how the market economy was analyzed, here is also the problem of the social market economy, all this must be taken into account in order to undo the mistakes because there is so much talk that is said.

Well, in "General Guidelines", on page 40: "Crisis and base of development" it says:

"Sovereignty is conceived as 'solid economy', that is, if imperialism comes because we give it the best conditions and it begins to

generate a crust of growth, they build highways, buildings, everything with the sweat of the people with greater exploitation, then we would have sovereignty, is Mexico sovereign? Brazil? Chile? They do not understand that national sovereignty means emancipation from imperialism, the only way to make a developed economy and it is made concrete with the revolution.”

These things have to be studied again, if here are the instruments, we have sung to them in advance what was going to happen, here are their arguments and what they were going to do, and they are doing it.

“Stability. For them the cause of inflation is the deficit, that is why it aims at finding measures, to reduce it, in other words. It is another of the recalcitrant conditions of the International Monetary Fund, it says that they are going to reduce three gaps: ‘1) fiscal gap’, it puts it in first place because it is considered the main one, they have not closed it so far! And they are not going to close it even in the next budget. ‘2) external’ implies the commercial relations with foreign countries, balance of payments, balance of trade, how much we sell, how much we buy; they are interested in solving the debt above all.”

There it is, have they solved it? They have not solved it, that is the concrete, the contracts with the members of the “support group” have not even been signed, that is the fact, they are just starting to deal with the private banks. And “3) poverty gap”, they say that they are going to eradicate critical poverty in four years, who believes them? nobody, but today we are poorer than before, when he came up we were 7.000.000 poor, now we are 13.000.000 poor, he has multiplied them, so? Cheap demagoguery. *“To promptly dictate measures of a tax nature”*, he aims at the fiscal gap and that is why he asks for powers to legislate on tax matters, but the main thing he has given is tax matters, everything is *“discount”*, *“charge”*, *“impose”*, but up to now they have not even made a so-called tax reform, which by the way has been pending since the first Belaúnde government, old problems then, and this one has not solved them and will not solve them. He asked for powers, they were given to him and he could not, and he did not start and he has not been able to either, today he is asking for the powers again because they have already finished, is that not the reality? Well, here it is in point 3, it also says: *“Base of development. The micro, small and medium-sized enterprises”*, this little square that they have must be corrected, there is a sum that is wrong, but this must be analyzed, the micro-small enterprises, this is very good. Here it is necessary to highlight this:

“How does it aim at minimizing the proletariat?”

Of course, it aims at disappearing it, and what have the facts shown? In the whole message he says nothing about the proletariat, nor about the peasantry, and what has he done with the peasantry? when does he ever mention it? Never, at most he speaks of the coca growers out of interest. He says *"Labor stability and productivity are two complementary and not antagonistic elements"*, which means that if you work well, if you produce well, you have stability, if not, there is none. But even businessmen ask that stability be respected, their reason of course is to contain the explosiveness, they do not want to add fuel to the fire, but Fujimori is not interested in anything as long as he behaves well before imperialism. It is therefore sung *"The State must serve society"* then says the document commenting:

"To state that the State must at all times serve society is to hide the class character of the State, to hide the dictatorship of the landowners and the big bourgeoisie. The fact that it is a 'promoter of development' as they say, is nothing but a State that facilitates the application of the market economy, that means 'promoter of development'. And what is, then, market economy? It is the generation and strengthening of monopolies, it is the benefit of imperialism and the big bourgeoisie. Drug trafficking, it is also here: *'To deal comprehensively with drug trafficking [...]*' what it wants are better conditions for its action, to use the problem of narcoterrorism and the importance it has for the United States in order to benefit economically, to link it to the solution of the debt, to sell Peruvian products, to export to the U.S., to link it to the Bush initiative for Latin America, to the Brady plan, in essence, to use the problem of the People's War to receive strong economic aid, that is what it has done today. *'Subversive violence, structural basis and dialogue.'* What is he looking for? To impose the State in the emergency zones and to evolve semi-feudalism, but as it is not feasible, they are going to increase the presence of the Armed Forces in those zones and that their power be exercised with the same Armed Forces, therefore the contradiction **Party-Armed Forces will be strengthened."**

This contradiction has been strengthened even more now with the last decrees. Well, he says (Fujimori's words): *"I am trying in very good faith and I want the international community to witness my fervent purpose of introducing peace through reason and dialogue"*, just like what he has said abroad in his speeches; he now comments: **"He plays for the stands and seeks prestige, to find support for his genocide, to say in the future 'my good faith collided with the**

stubbornness of the fanatics”’, is that not what he has told us? There it is, we have already said it, that is why we insist:

“How does the MRTA base itself on this farce to have a dialogue? Fujimori’s position is not to dialogue but to lay the foundations to apply a more developed counter-subversive war, and to apply the North American counter-subversive strategy, the so-called ‘low-intensity war’, and he uses dialogue as demagoguery, what is happening is that the MRTA has begun its path of amnesty and enlistment, preparing its capitulation to serve the order, participate in it and fight us according to the benefit they receive.”

We think that this goes down very well with us.

“Human rights”, here it is also:

“In Peru the first right recognized by the Constitution is the respect for the human person, even the right to a life is recognized, we also have international agreements but none of them are complied with, Fujimori says he is going to enforce them, but what do we see daily? Mass graves, disappeared, prisoners, genocide, and in the streets of the capital, repression of all protest marches. How is the right to strike? freedom of expression? evictions are the order of the day, etc. What we are experiencing is the most violent contradiction between the rights conquered and established in the Constitution and its laws, and the material reality. The Commission does not even exist, and the fact that he wants to preside over it is to control it, ‘*myados* in Peru?’. That is, he spoke of a commission that was going to be formed, he asked for power, but to this day it does not exist. Let us emphasize that here he says ‘pampering’, we have found his weak point, his ego, an absurd absolutism of power. We have heard him say ‘*we will fight subversion with the law in our hands*’ since the Belaúnde government and genocides, unpunished murders, rapes, etc., continue; besides, Peru is not characterized for being respectful of human rights and precisely this is one of the issues that Yankee imperialism is determined to spread in the oppressed nations, obviously as part of its imperialist demagoguery to continue oppressing and exploiting and for its counter-subversive war, it is a good mouthful.”

So, this must be taken into account, it is very useful for us.

Read and study from page 395 to 407 of the same document of the Preparatory Session, on the so-called low-intensity warfare. The document states:

“It is convenient that we return to deal something about this question that must be studied because they are using it and they are going to use it; because we must aim at a judgment from the position of Marxism of this so-called low-intensity warfare. In the immediate to know how to counteract these situations, plans, methods or the way in which Yankee imperialism aims against the revolution, against the struggle of the oppressed nations mainly.

‘Low intensity warfare’, subtitle: ‘Reagan against Central America’, by Lilia Bermudez, 21st Century Publications

What stands out is that she provides information on documents of the Yankee government, of Yankee imperialism; she also reports on experiences of the application of this so-called low-intensity warfare, the problem that we must bear in mind is the position of this author, it can be easily derived when she judges this problem as plans that:

‘aim to attack the Soviet Union through the weakest link, which would be the one made up by the national liberation movements or the governments that having changed the previous status quo are in the process of constituting a new type of State.’

Needless to say, and if she speaks of Nicaragua as a new type of State, we already have an idea. She is for the superpower USSR. Another limitation is that this book is from 1987, the materials it handles are from the first part of the ‘80s. There are other later things that we should make an effort to see, more if it says that these forms of low intensity are becoming more specified.

Chapter 3: ‘The contents of the conflict or low intensity war’.

He says that the tendency in the U.S. is to use ‘conflict’ aiming to demilitarize the term in front of the American public opinion; imperialism wants to gain public opinion, that is its eagerness; however, it also contains a difference in the content to call conflict or low-intensity war.

He transcribes a text in which he aims to define the so-called conflict:

‘Low-intensity conflict refers to the series of activities and operations at the lower end of the conflict spectrum, including the use of military or semi-military forces (both combat and non-combat), on the part of an intervening power to influence and force the adversary to accept a particular political-military condition.’

According to this text, low-intensity warfare would be the lowest end of the spectrum. The problem when he speaks of the spectrum refers to the fact that when the atomic bomb was used, they had a weapon of immense destructive power that surpassed everything known up to that time, August ‘45; from there comes the conception that it is feasible to classify wars according to the intensity of the weapons, of the means used and they classify them in low intensity, medium intensity and maximum intensity, the latter using the atomic

bomb; The medium intensity, conventional warfare weapons, all non-atomic means; and the low intensity, those in which simpler, less powerful means are used; hence the classification of war by intensity.

It says that these activities and operations *'include the use of military or semi-military forces, both combat and non-combat'*. War has come to use all kinds of instruments. They are used by a superpower or power because it says *'on the part of an intervening power to influence and compel the adversary to accept a particular political-military condition'*, a condition which is nothing but subjugation.

,The use of force is not exclusively concerning combat, there are a variety of methods and strategies to influence the environment and action of other states without resorting to battle.'

It means the use of other means without resorting to battle.

'It encompasses the threat of the use of force without employing it or fighting and the use of force in combat.'

In other words, to threaten is one way, the other is to use that force in combat.

'A foreign State or States must be convinced that the State that is using force is also prepared to use it in combat.'

It is a principle of diplomacy if armed force is used simply to threaten without the assurance that it is going to be used, then it does not have that effect. Kissinger used to say, it has to be clear that force is going to be used. Diplomacy is nothing more than a set of links and deals that, if it exceeds its limits, it is the weapon that imposes conditions. Diplomacy serves that war and when it triumphs it takes the greatest advantage of the triumph.

It corresponds to the level of interference of armed force in relation to their capacity, to the war power they have. Using the most elementary means does not mean that they will not use medium intensity means. The interesting thing is that it says:

'For a power it will be low intensity, for the attacked it is high intensity.'

According to the dimension that each State has.

Another definition:

'Low intensity warfare is the recourse of nations and organizations to limited use of their forces or threat of use to achieve political objectives without the full inclusion of resources.'

It can start with low intensity and then medium if needed for political objectives.

'Typical of this conflict is that it involves relatively few participants in relation to the importance of the objectives at risk.'

'May include coercive diplomacy.'

'To press for example a blockade.'

'Police actions', 'psychological operations, insurgency, guerrilla warfare, counter-terrorist activities, and military and paramilitary deployments with diverse objectives.'

Wide range of possibilities of this low-intensity warfare.

'Triumph is often only a means to avoid a certain outcome.'

In other words, a war to obtain results, turns or changes. All warfare is like this.

How Yankee imperialism uses this type of war:

'The U.S. military engages in this type of conflict in support of U.S. global interests and with the support of the U.S. population.'

For the global interests of Yankee imperialism, general, worldwide; it seeks support which is different, that is seen because it is posed that the American people still do not understand well.

For this author Kupperman:

'Low intensity conflict or unconventional warfare.'

He says that conflict or unconventional warfare can be used interchangeably. In 1983 he presents a report to the U.S. Army where he states that; that is to say, what yesterday was called unconventional warfare is now called low-intensity warfare, even conflict, old wine in new bottles; forms that are changing with the experience of the counter-revolution; it gives food for thought being a report of the U.S. Army.

The author says that this low-intensity war *'is a counter-revolutionary war and is a protracted war'* and that it has three substantial axes, axes that would become types or forms: 1) Counter-insurgency in those countries where there is an evident threat to the established order (El Salvador) or a potential threat even if it is incipient (Honduras) or hypothetically potential (Costa Rica). 2) The reversal of triumphant revolutionary processes (Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique, Afghanistan). And 3) Anti- or counter-terrorism. Their position is confirmed, who are they talking about? Countries linked to the USSR, and where are we?

Schultz, former U.S. Secretary of State says:

'The U.S. faces new and evasive challenges.'

Not frontal, that means:

'[...] thus the methods to combat the U.S. have changed. Low-intensity warfare is their response to our conventional and nuclear strength, a flank maneuver in military terms.'

For him the contest is with the USSR for world hegemony:

'[...] the ambiguous war has shown a chink in our armor.'

He says that the U.S. is being subjected to this ambiguous war, a low-intensity war, and they are making a crack in it, so they have to defend

themselves. They take that basis and on that they have elaborated the theory of low-intensity warfare, that is what the author says; she also says that in that way the U.S. is showing its weaknesses and just as in the decade of the '60s, in the '80s:

,[...] the turbulence in the world surprises the U.S.'

For her it is turbulence.

Summers is a colonel in the U.S. Army who has written a book on strategy, analyzing the defeat of Vietnam. He conceives the problem taking military criteria. It is a very important text. He deals with two principles of war: the dilemma of where to mass and where to apply economy of forces, that is, where to put more forces and where to put fewer forces. The U.S. puts more forces in Europe, for example, while in other parts of the world, in the oppressed nations, it must economize forces, that is to say, low-intensity warfare.

It is interesting that Kupperman makes the point that the U.S. military is not prepared for such low-intensity wars. Nor is it going to be. He says that there is a range of possibilities that are presented in the world and it's a challenge, because each challenge has a specific thing and the U.S. military is not prepared. That's what he said in '83.

Reagan, part of the Soviet threat, 'great enemy', within the superpower contest; he says that the USSR is the 'great enemy' that targets the key parts of the USA: Europe, Persian Gulf; then what should be done? To respond globally by threatening the Soviet weak points in any other part of the globe, amplified in all possible points. Faced with his ideas, one wonders if it is his answer to the USSR or is it the answer of the Yankee superpower to the oppressed nations? Is it the plan of Yankee imperialism to contend for world hegemony? The problem is that he sees it from the point of view of the superpowers.

The author says that some argue that low-intensity warfare can contain conventional but limited warfare. Yes, some argue that; it shows us that they play with a set of possibilities and use them to impose conditions; the Yankees put 700.000 men in Vietnam but it did not go well, so they start to apply low-intensity warfare but they can elevate it.

The Chinese Comrades in documents from the '60s speak to us about the escalation of the war and that was demonstrated in Vietnam: it began for a short time and then it was elevated to great means, to conventional war and threatened with atomic weapons, they threatened to bomb Hanoi and China. What we see is the escalation of war, that is why the author says that there are terms that remind us of Kennedy. Taylor raised the issue of escalation; that is why we say, is it not the old wine in new bottles?

Schultz says low-intensity warfare confronts various political, military, intellectual and moral issues, different new and unconventional challenges that cover a wide and different range. He says:

„[...] it is the scourge of terrorism in the world, the Nicaraguan struggle between the democratic resistance and the Communist regime, the insurgencies against Soviet or Cuban intervention in Angola, Ethiopia, civil war as in Lebanon, rescue of Grenada, Cambodian resistance against Vietnamese occupation.’

It is a field of different types of challenge varying in scale and scope, which have a common feature, ambiguity; he continues:

„[...] there are facts that take us out of the balance that we impose and we grope for appropriate methods to respond.’

Groping means that it is not defined; they debate on how to respond.

The author says:

„[...] it is clear that the most likely areas of low-intensity conflict are the areas of the 3rd World, however because of terrorism the geographical area is generalized to include the territory of the United States itself.’

Kupperman:

„It is not only a foreign problem but on U.S. territory itself, in response to civil disorder or terrorism.’

That is, against the American people itself; we think that this struggle against drug trafficking, just as here it is against the People’s War, there it is against the American people, to break them (for example, the struggle against drug trafficking, against drugs in the United States). That is why we say that this struggle unites us more with the struggle of the North American people. Kupperman says that on the American continent the most probable arenas of low-intensity or medium-intensity conflicts are in Central America, Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and possibly Puerto Rico; concluding that the escalation of this conflict is possible in the conventional plane, he says without atomic use; but the use or not will be according to their conditions or interests. It is projected until the year 2000.

The author says that political-military violence is predicted to intensify during the next decades. It is nothing new, this is the conclusion of the political and military analysts of the United States. Now understand why the plan against Colombia and Peru, the problem is South America and the facts are demonstrating it and we will see it more; but, for her we do not exist.

Another author says:

„[...] the need to see the specificity of each case, the particular reality of each situation to develop this type of war, is not an obstacle to see it regionally.’

See regions and in each case the specific situation. They are drawing lessons and have learned from the People's War; but the problem is that each side has its strategy, its class character; the question is whether the war is justified or unjustified, the problem is which class leads.

,Our national interest is expressed in the national context.'

Thus they see the situation as part of American national security and so says the author herself, but she keeps silent that it implies world domination, struggle for hegemony.

Kupperman says that it is not good for the U.S. to continue intervening in covert actions because they are rejected by the American people. In other words, they are unmaskable, for example, the overthrow of Allende by Kissinger himself. So, they want to elaborate a conception that is even capable of deceiving the American people into supporting them, because support is more necessary for this type of war; for example, the American people were against the intervention in Vietnam. People are people.

Schultz says:

,[...] the public discussion and debate must continue.'

Forming public opinion favorable to aggression, to domination, to the struggle for hegemony. And this is another idea of Mr. Kupperman.

Another author says:

,[...] to support a State that has war problems with its people, the U.S. needs that government to have legitimacy because otherwise public opinion cannot be moved.'

That is why it is in our interest to undermine Fujimori's legitimacy using the law, as well as denouncing him for genocide. He also says *'that in the face of each of the axes, specific responses have been built'*; that is to say, concrete, different forms, apart from always looking for the specific. The question is, can the U.S. intervene directly with its troops or not? They say it is feasible; the objective of the Yankee forces would be to bring about a decisive change in the conflict. This is what we saw in contradictions and main contradiction; that is what they would act for. *'Preserving American interests at risk'*, for example: Panama, it was for Yankee interests and *'American life'*. Here is the Southern, that is Yankee interest.

,To provide time and space for the native forces to recover tactical initiative for concrete actions.'

Another reason to give time for the reactionary government that is fighting to recover initiative.

Mr. Graves, says that:

,[...] if they can intervene, involve small forces in clearly defined missions in geographic areas, targets and time.'

'They don't want to get bogged down, they don't want to stay too long. Followed by a quick withdrawal once the objective is achieved.'

Meet the specific objective and get out, they don't want a war of resistance against them. In such limited operations [...] not to defeat or destroy the opposing forces; not to fix other people's mess, that is to turn against the people and it is not convenient for them to get involved in a more complex process. He also says that:

,[...] the most likely missions include: rescue, evacuation, protection, anti-terrorist missions.'

For example, Grenada, Liberia.

And with a People's War? That is the problem they have; then, this low-intensity war is very limited, if they want to aim at destroying implies something else, if they want to recover the cornered authority; another, will these low-intensity interventions be enough or will they have to move to medium-intensity? They would have to move to medium-intensity.

The author highlights the following, she says an aspect worth highlighting is how:

,[...] the strategy becomes complex and the objective is global and not only military, the response is also complex, it is long term.'

Yankee authors say '*we must recognize that the conflict is neither simple nor short term*'; in the face of a war like ours, they would have to think that it is not simple, this does not mean, obviously, that the base has to be changed. Fujimori also states that the problem is neither simple nor short-term.

Previously, the author has spoken of direct troop occupation, fighting or supporting; if it is a question of fighting, her problem consists of using a whole range of means, even diplomacy, and not embarking on a war as happened in Vietnam before.

He says:

,'Central America is not Southeast Asia, this time the logistics are on the side of the United States, it can help its allies for a war that may last decades.'

Logistics is an element that counts in war, a logistical connection is more vulnerable the longer it is. So the situation is not the same, as it was in Vietnam; that is why they say that the problem is to provide these threatened governments with logistics that are within their reach, so that it is favorable to them, for example: funds, training, technology, all linked to the problem of

counter-subversive warfare. Here Fujimori says technology; linked to combat us.

Thus, they and their allies can face a prolonged war *'that may last for decades'*.

Summers: 'On Strategy. A critical analysis of the Vietnam War.'

(It would be good to get this text, it has been incorporated as a U.S. Army Studies text.) He says Vietnam generated problems, we were defeated; so there are roots to what happened. Conclusion, we should not get into a war as in Vietnam; but we cannot fail to intervene, there are two problems that he raises to solve this situation: 1) The rapid deployment; to have a rapid deployment force to strike anywhere in the world, 'task force' able to respond anywhere and for a short time, because of logistics problem; this has been applied in the '80s, more or less 10.000 men deserted; well, that force can have about 200.000 men to move a group of 10.000 for the reasons mentioned; it is what is called 'task force'. 2) To set up a system and form in which to participate in a protracted war and to wear down without the constant fighter action of the Yankees; it is solved with conflict or war of low-intensity, a not massive war and where the United States does not become mired.

First axis of low-intensity warfare: Counter-insurgency. When in a country the war undermines its order or there is danger or potential risk; well, here the author says that in '64 the United States considered its participation in Vietnam as mainly military; in '67 there was a change, a turn in the direct action of the U.S., before they were the main force, but from '67 onwards increasing emphasis was placed on the native troops to combat the guerrillas, so they began to see the war moving the threatened government and them as advisors. In '69 Nixon put forward what is known as the 'Nixon doctrine': the host country assumes the fundamental responsibility of providing military troops for its own defense in the face of an insurgency. That is why we say that they are debating a doctrine of counter-subversive warfare, drawing lessons not only from Vietnam but also from other wars; they are beginning to propose a theory of the so-called low-intensity warfare, military action is developed as in any war, only using 'lower', more elementary means, but which for the attacked country are great, for example, for the U.S. to send 100 helicopters is a small thing but for Peru it is a lot. The 'low intensity warfare' follows their counter-insurgency norm but demands a series of changes; they have set up other forms, another force structure, readjusting their airborne forces, mechanized infantry, task forces, armored cavalry, etc.; in terms of forms of warfare the lowest possible,

new ways to strike, a complex use of all their forces according to the situation that arises.

We are interested in looking at its 'non-military' components; there are four components:

1. Intelligence. Concern to improve his Intelligence service; he says that:

,The intelligence effort is the bedrock of all low intensity warfare operations.'

Objective of their intelligence: to see if there is latent insurrection; information on insurgents; weather conditions; terrain and population; all this they study for them; what do they seek? to minimize insurgent espionage, subversion and sabotage activities. This is in their manual, in their regulations; and they apply it according to the degree of the insurgency which can be initial, medium or mature; for example Huallaga is not the same as Piura or when they say from Lima that Ate Vitarte is red, it is because we are there, militarily they differentiate incipient or emerging insurgency from more mature insurgency, according to that they apply in different ways; they aim to form counter-guerilla forces and, according to each case what organizations to set up.

2. Psychological Operations. School of psychological warfare, Fort Bragg, founded in 1952. There are two central objectives: 1) To modify the relations between the soldiers themselves; they cannot be arrogant, bossy, and they must win over the people; for this reason they must modify the activities of their armed forces. 2) To change the behavior and perception of the population, of the insurgents during the war, that is, how the population sees them and how the insurgents see the counter-subversive war and the military operations aim to make them see that the revolutionary war is a failure. They are looking for a change of opinion, for example, in the Middle East they have to change their behavior regarding women, alcoholic beverages, because of the customs there. They want the population and the insurgents to change, they want them to see that the war is wrong, that it is not possible to conquer power; they say to the population, for example, 'there is no light because the towers were blown up', 'the terrorists have wanted to blow up the water tanks' or against us 'your terrorist war achieves nothing'.

How does an intelligence officer act? The intelligence officer is less interested in arms and men, what interests him is the morale of the troops; the morale of the civilian population that is friendly with the enemy; whether or not there is a black market; problem and everything related to strikes and absenteeism. Interrogations. It must be carried out within 48 to 72 hours to take maximum advantage of the state of shock, disorientation and fear, to prepare

Comrades and fighters to be prepared for torture in times of tension. Psychological techniques. Psychological air attacks by means of armed propaganda equipment operating in areas of guerrilla control or dispute. Objective: desertion because it undermines the morale of the insurgents and raises the morale of the captors; they could kill to intimidate and above all use leaflets which are the most widely used form.

Their field manual on low-intensity conflict aims to set up internal defense and development plans and conceives psychological operations as part of these (OPSIC); they say: 'you have to defend yourself to sow', example *rondas* or civil defense. They take into account the target group of their psychological operation: insurgents, to get them to side with the government; civilian population, to gain, retain and strengthen civilian support for the country's government and for its internal defense and development programs; host country and allied forces, as well as for civilians, with emphasis on building and maintaining the morale of these forces; Loyalty and discipline are critical factors in the fight; it is a matter of getting everyone to support them in the fight against insurgent neutral elements, gaining the support of uncommitted foreign groups inside and outside the host country by publicizing insurgent activities, e.g. 'they kill peasants', 'they are linked to *narcos*', etc., groups of external hostile powers that support the movement, that convince the population that the insurrection will fail, e.g. 'why spend millions, it won't do any good'; case of Cuba. [...]

3. Civil affairs. The objective is to minimize the interference of the local population with military operations. Slogan: '*intensify combat operations through civil-military cooperation*'. To paint well, to gild their action; therefore, the so-called civic action is to intensify their combat action, they aim to mobilize civilian personnel so that the population supports the military and the government, the elimination of military, political, military and social problems, i.e., the fewer problems the better. Particularly important is civic action. U.S. State Department definition:

,Use of predominantly native forces, of projects useful to the local population at all levels.'

,Fields: education, training, public works, agriculture, transportation, communications, health, public hygiene and others which contribute to economic and social development and which may also serve to enhance the reputation of the military forces in the population.' (Military Dictionary, page 230.)

The author says that this leads to an increase in so-called humanitarian aid. In this way they move the American people to accept that they are putting money aside for these sinister activities. This civic action sees the degree of

development of the revolution, the phase and according to that it is organized. They say that it is not a problem of number but the improvement of the aid, for example, not how many they cure but the improvement of the general health of the population; they fulfill these tasks because they are key to develop their combat. This is what the promotion of medical programs is for, for example.

4. Control of population and resources.

„Objective: to dismantle the infrastructure supporting the revolutionary movement and prevent new adherents to its cause. To achieve this, intelligence activities, psychological operations, civil affairs and military measures are combined. That is to say, all non-military and also military means to control the population.’

„They set up pacification projects.’ (page 138)

This is requested by the IU, the Church; it is part of the control of the population to *‘win the minds and hearts of the population, fundamentally of the peasants. Objective: to improve the villages, to achieve economic and political security in the villages’.*

Fujimori claims to give security and confidence. If we analyze in the light of this, how are the IU, the Church, etc., left? These are global plans of imperialism.

„Forced resettlement’, ‘strategic hamlets’ and ‘the forced incorporation of the population into defense tasks’. Three issues apply. By means of the constitution of forces or patrols of civil self-defense. It is the same thing that IU says, even the same name. In Vietnam it says that 24.000.000 South Vietnamese were concentrated in 17.000 concentration camps, for which all methods were combined: destruction, terror, seduction, division and impoverishment. The economic plan that impoverishes the people and especially the peasantry deeply serves this; and the PES, thus, leads to resettlements, villages and self-defense, to use them for concentration camps. About strategic hamlets in the book ‘The Age of Counterinsurgency’ by Douglas S. Blaufarb, he explains the objective of those hamlets; he says that the purpose was to dry up the sea of friendly peasants in which the Viet Cong ‘fish’ swam, instead of emphasizing military action, i.e. to separate the guerrillas from the masses, never to allow it. The means by which they aimed to sever the guerrillas’ relationship with the villages was by bringing to the inhabitants the benefits of government and village defenses, physical defense to repel open attack (so the population could sleep at night) and reorganization and survival procedures (food control), to prevent them from serving the guerrillas. In some cases they were even paid for the damage they caused. To support the pacification task the *‘support for civilian operations and revolutionary development’* was constituted and the author says, in the

facts it was not achieved by the methods used; the population was bombed, relocated by force or caught in crossfire as a contending force, in encounters in their houses or around their houses. This applied to those who resisted. Moreover, the pacification effort meant a real massacre of the population as 'Operation Phoenix' conceived by the CIA that aimed to neutralize the guerrillas by eliminating their supporters by any means. It was not achieved despite the mass murder, in 1968 when 'Operation Phoenix' was under direct order of the U.S., 26.369 South Vietnamese civilians were killed, 33.658 imprisoned under hellish conditions. This is why Blaufarb concludes that the infrastructure cannot be eliminated without first eliminating the organization that runs it. He means the Party; formidable lesson; the French propose: 1) to sweep away the Party leadership and 2) to break the relationship with the masses. First the Party because as long as there is a Party the revolution will continue.

'Formation of people's self-defense forces.' Created in January 1968 as a national program; obligatory for all men who were not part of the armed forces of military age; volunteers: women, the elderly and children over twelve years of age. In 1970 it was calculated that the grouped population oscillated in 400.000, although the official figures said that they achieved 3.000.000, always inflated. The 'people's self-defense forces' were the responsibility of the village chiefs; it says *'villagers rather informal and non-military'*, *'it was one of the causes and at the same time one of the indicators of the improvement of the situation in the countryside'*, *'the fact of distributing arms was symbolic'*; that is applied here. Five years later, they were defeated; they are transitory improvements. The CIA agent says that the pacification plan was defeated because he says that such a task goes beyond advice and assistance since the leadership of the natives is fundamental and the counterinsurgency demands to give a strong voice to the rural population in their own affairs trying to link them to the national political process, that is to say that they express political strength, that they are recognized in turn and accepted what they propose. will they be able to give the peasants influence, decision, politics? They are not going to be able to give them, that is why they had problems and the plan of the so-called pacification failed.

According to the 'Low Intensity Conflict Field Manual', the population and resource control program is complementary and supportive of other defense and internal development programs. Objectives combined with civic action issues: 1) mobilize supplies and manpower on behalf of the government; 2) uncover and neutralize insurgent organizations and activities; 3) provide a physical and psychological environment for the people; and 4) cut off any existing support between the population and the insurgent forces.

Second axis: Reversal. Nicaragua case. Before, a government was destabilized, undermined, e.g. Allende's government. Now, open struggle that does not have to respect or wait for the fall of a government opposed to their criteria, but they say, they have the right and the obligation to act to overthrow it; for that they move all means, all possible ways. It is important to form an opposing armed group within the country itself with a base of withdrawal and support in bordering countries and direct actions organized by the U.S. using special forces to undermine at all levels, for example blowing up gasoline depots, strategic factories. Use reactionary warfare, such as against the native Miskitos; add economic blockade, diplomatic pressure, etc. The '*change is in open struggle*'; the right to overthrow it is openly proclaimed and executed.

Third axis: Anti-terrorism. All definitions contained in Department of Defense documents have become obsolete:

'The unlawful use of force and violence or the threat of its use by revolutionary organizations against individuals or property with the intent to coerce or intimidate governments or societies often for ideological purposes.'

Similar to Peru's 046; for them the problem is that a new phase has been entered. William Cassy, director of the CIA, said that:

'Since the late '60s there is a new phase of terrorism fundamentally and more ideologized in nature, e.g. RAF, CCC, Direct Action, Red Brigades in Europe; in the Middle East PLO. Similar groups are maturing in Chile, Ecuador, Colombia and Peru. Ecuador, Colombia and Peru. They no longer look at us that way, they see us in a counterinsurgency role.'

Terrorism has become a weapon used by States against each other, it is a weapon of war used by ideologized groups.'

Therefore they say, terrorism has to be fought as a low-intensity warfare force; consequently, all the usual methods can be used, particularly rapid direct interventions, for example, retaliation in Libya. Which is an act to which they are entitled, because, they say, the principles of the U.N. must be interpreted, since they are defenders of freedom; they do not respect any borders. Hence they struck Libya on this basis. If a country is not able to contain these actions, they say, they have the right and authority to intervene, to take an individual or individuals and take them to their country. Another example of such low-intensity actions was Entebbe."

This document should be kept in mind.

E. 1ST TASK: REIMPULSING BUREAUCRAT-CAPITALISM

We have to look at the three tasks that this government took on. **Re-impulse:** The problem is to highlight that until today it does not achieve stability. In order to achieve it, the government has taken as its axis the fight against inflation, but although inflation has been lowered, it is being handled deceitfully to pretend that it is declining month by month, the fact is that the process is losing speed in its reduction and therefore threatens to be boosted again, that is to say, to start increasing again, that is the problem they have and to fight inflation is a Yankee demand to solve the debt issues. Then, Peru is in a deep recession, there are four consecutive years of recession and this year they say that there is going to be a growth of 0,5, that is what they say, and they are going to adulterate the statistics; to think that there are already four years of recession and that the phenomenon of the cycles of economic crisis that also occur in Peru is continuing, whereby the economy sinks deeper and deeper, this is happening. But this process of reducing inflation which they have not been able to control up to now, this phenomenon of four years of recession which they have not been able to stop, has it helped them to solve the problem of the so-called reinsertion? No, it is not finished, in 1992 they will have to make new deals so that as from 1993 they can begin to pay, but there is no way to pay, how to face the obligations they are assuming, and 1992 will not be a soft year, on the contrary, 1992 is going to be a harder year, that is what interests us, “harder year” according to their own statement. Then one wonders, we have been in an emergency for a year and a half and it still has not been solved, didn’t the APRA make a plan to solve the emergency in a year and a half, and was it able to fulfill it? No, it went from bad to worse and could not overcome the economic problems, this one is following the same process, that is what we see until today, their plan cannot have a better way out, it will not go beyond that, as the document says “they will be transitory blooming”, they are not going any further than that. They themselves are already saying that these are hard years and that they hope in the future to be able to reimpulse, but what will that future be, when? Then, the longed stability is becoming more and more difficult to achieve, and more intermediate efforts, how does it materialize? in: “harder year”.

Now, they have focused on structural reforms. In April, as a result of Decree 009 on land, we made the following comment:

“This, like the other recent measures taken with Boloña, are part of the reimpulsing of bureaucrat-capitalism. What Fujimori’s government has done so far is: 1) the July guidelines, 2) the August adjustment measures and Hurtado’s propaganda, complemented with

readjustments in December, 3) Boloña's measures, which should be included in the program to be presented by the Prime Minister. Recent measures, although they express a transaction between factions of the big bourgeoisie, as it should be, benefit mainly the comprador group and particularly the financial and big exporter group. The exporting manufacturing group itself and industry in general, suffer the consequences, obviously hitting the national bourgeoisie and unloading itself with great virulence on the popular masses, particularly the attack against the class is direct. The March measures, a concentrated expression of the most obsequious submission to Yankee imperialism, apart from the rejection and resistance that they strengthen, encounter difficulties in the so-called reinsertion which is the light of their eyes, as well as in the signing of the agreement on drug trafficking, again postponed. The whole plan and program of the big bourgeoisie, mainly the comprador bourgeoisie, which they are promoting, is on the one hand extremely delayed, they should have applied it since Belaúnde; and, on the other hand, they have to develop it in the worst international and internal conditions of a prolonged and worsening general critical situation; all this, apart from the situation of misery of the masses which continues to accentuate the class struggle which is heading towards the revolutionary crisis and mainly the development of the People's War and the New Power. Thus, their new plans and measures have a difficult and hazardous perspective, and even begin by aggravating the recession and orphaned of a program to sustain them, at least not agreed upon until today, this in the bosom of the big bourgeoisie itself, since in the popular camp they can only sow winds and reap storms. Up to now the comprador bourgeoisie has not been able to put together a program and plans like those of Velasco's bureaucracy, nor does it have the political apparatus or support to apply them. It is in these circumstances that reaction and imperialism are pushing ahead with the Boloña measures, without even managing to clean up the financial situation, particularly that of the State, which was previously done by the military fascist government to apply its program. As for the agrarian question, take into account what was seen in the October meeting."

We believe that the economic situation of the country is condensed here, what we started in April is still valid, they are within that plan. So, what we have seen up to now is that their stabilization plan is failing and a tougher year is coming, not even the reinsertion is going well and they have assumed

huge payment commitments, this is the situation, up to now these are the results. Then come the measures, the big measures that must be understood within this, what is important here, it says: **“What about the proposals made in July by Fujimori”**, then **“the adjustment measures of August and the measures of Boloña”**, in other words, these are the measures that have been taken, these would be the fourth step taken, I am not saying that these are moments, that is another problem, I am not talking about moments here. What the government has done so far is: first, guidelines, because we have to think that this is its first message to the country, it should have said what to do, but we only have generalities, that is the point; then, in August, the big adjustment that we all know: and then the Boloña measures. The Prime Minister presented a program, but it was not even published, this program does not exist, he outlined guidelines and aimed at reaching a consensus, generating a dialogue, an agreement, and from there all that came out was the problem of the Council for Peace, and we know the result; that is the question, and what did the government get out of it? the legislative powers. So there was no such program, that is the important thing. Now that it says: **“Recent measures, although they express a transaction between factions of the big bourgeoisie as it should be, benefit mainly the buyer and particularly the financial and exporting group”**, but then it adds: **“the exporting manufacturing group itself and the big industry in general suffer the consequences”**, even the financial and big exporting group suffer the consequences, how are they at this moment? There are banks that are at risk of bankruptcy, that is the problem, and misery has serious problems, that is the fact, and manufacturing, industry? it is getting worse every day; that is, what he says here has worsened, it is the same law that is being complied with. Now, obviously, who is he hitting? The national bourgeoisie, but who is he hitting with great virulence? The people’s masses, **“particularly, the attack against the class is direct”**. Then it tells us **“the March measures, concentrated expression of the most obsequious submission to Yankee imperialism”**, that is what interests us, if those measures are the concentrated expression of the most obsequious submission to Yankee imperialism, these we are seeing are even worse; He says that the measures generate rejection, they encounter rejection and strengthen resistance, today even more; apart from this **“they encounter difficulties in the so-called reinsertion which is the light of their eyes”** and those problems have not concluded, **“as well as in the signing of the agreement on drug trafficking, again postponed”**, today they have already signed it, but how is its application? The hustle and bustle in the U.S. continues and we have seen all

the disputes over it, the discrepancies, the agreements, the subjugations, so these things also; **“The whole plan and program of the big comprador bourgeoisie mainly that they are promoting [...]”** That is the important thing, that plan and program, there is no sanctioned programme or plan, at least it has not been presented to the country, it has not been exposed to anyone: even if it did not exist, they must have their plans, guidelines and agreements to which they must adhere, then, the whole plan and program of the big comprador bourgeoisie, mainly theirs is on the one hand extremely delayed, they should have applied it since Belaúnde (remember what we have read in the document), on the other hand they have to develop it in the worst international and internal conditions, what are those internal conditions? **“Prolonged general critical action which is getting worse, that is to say, the social and economic process of Peru is getting worse, all this apart from the situation of misery of the masses which continues to worsen; the class struggle which is heading towards the revolutionary crisis, and mainly the development of the People’s War and the New Power”**, of course; well, that is the main thing! in those conditions how are they going to be, compare this now with what we have read. Rey said: “It is going to begin” and it has already begun, and today how are we? worse than before. Remember that at the end of the Morales government there was money in Peru, there were bonds in the bank, they managed to stabilize their economic and financial problems, their budget, we must not forget that. Now look at what he is going to say: **“Thus, the new plans and measures have a difficult and hazardous perspective, and they even start aggravating the recession”**, of course, instead of cleaning it up, they aggravate it more **“Orphans of a programme to support them”**, where is their programme, then? That is the problem; it says: **“(at least not agreed until today)”**, although they have it, they have not agreed it, much less have they presented it; **“this, in the bosom of the big bourgeoisie itself”**, they themselves do not agree, they have no plan; **“Well, in the people’s camp they can only sow winds and reap storms.”** Now what it is going to say is very important: **“Up to now the comprador bourgeoisie has not been able to put together a programme and plans like those of the bureaucracy of Velasco, nor do they have political apparatus, nor support to apply it”**, one could say: but Velasco did not have a party, yes, but he had an army, armed force, did he not? And he had a Sinamos at least, today we have a Sinamos? And he had a whole revisionism and opportunism which served him as a cushion, do they have it today? they do not have it then, it is worse. **“In these circumstances is that reaction and imperialism carry their re-impulse**

through the measures of Boloña and without even managing to clean up the financial situation”, it is still the same; **“Particularly emphasize that it was previously done by the military fascist government to implement its programme.”** The agrarian question? refer to what we have seen before. Well, I think this condenses very clearly what the situation is.

Then, from the second thing we have seen, there is the appreciation of the whole process. Hard year there it is, who they serve and they do not have a programme.

Let us study, in addition, the following comments to journalistic extracts:

“In the ‘50s, ECLAC applied ‘import substitution’ and the result is the deep crisis in Latin America in the ‘80s from which they have not yet emerged. Today ECLAC brings us the new Yankee imperialist recipe: ‘productive transformation with equity’, and apart from the usual ‘arduous and difficult task’ and ‘more or less prolonged period of learning and adaptation’; today they sibyllineally tell us: the countries of Latin America ‘will perhaps emerge stronger’; in good language this means: the catastrophe will be worse for the Latin American people, and as always Yankee imperialism will be the big winner. That is what ECLAC’s new recipe is for, as it was yesterday!” (On the occasion of the article “Productive transformation with equity” by Gert Rosenthal, Secretary of ECLAC; *The Commercial*, 06.05.1991.)

“The so much propagandized privatization began. So far, keep in mind: a) the so-called ‘diffusion of property’, the proclaimed ‘people’s capitalism’ which they said would benefit the medium and small land-owners, as it was before and had to be, but today, it benefits the big bourgeoisie, mainly the bankers. b) Privatization ‘begins’ late, the question has been pending since the last part of the fascist government. c) Pressure for privatization will grow, and the struggle to take over private State property will stir up contradictions within reaction. d) Imperialism is preparing to feast and will take the largest share.” (Following the sale of the first State enterprise, “Sogewise Leasing”; 11.06.1991.)

Structural reforms. Decree Laws. It has to do with 126 Decree Laws issued under the legislative powers, the main part of the decrees are those related to the economy, then the 23 decrees dedicated to the pacification issue as we are going to see later and the rest are about other problems that we are going to see as well. The vast majority of decrees are economic, focused on the economy and where do they aim? They aim to reduce state activity, they aim to

develop the monopoly of the big bourgeoisie, the non-state monopoly and mainly to favor the greater penetration of imperialism, especially Yankee imperialism, that is all, under the criterion of *"for social necessity, to promote private investment"* the same criterion, in the end that is what it is, it is the transfer that they are legally concretizing of all that the State accumulated over decades, and what is pending as we have just seen since the end of the '70s, that is what they are doing. The appropriation of those means that State monopoly concentrated, to whom is it going to pass? To Yankee imperialism mainly, to other imperialisms in second place and in third place to the big bourgeoisie, to a small group of the big bourgeoisie, which generates problems for reaction. It seems to us that this is how we can consider it.

Well, they have also complemented with other fundamental laws, in the main social economic plane are the economic laws to which we have just referred, then there are fundamental laws, the agrarian laws, which is the same problem but in agriculture; it is to guarantee greater plundering also in function of export in the service of imperialism and so that this reactionary government traffics with the ownership of the lands and that it serves a greater concentration in the future. With these measures the collapse of agriculture is going to be worse and worse. We have already discussed the agrarian laws at length in the 2nd Plenum, in the Preparatory Session.

Another item is that of labor laws, the denial of all that the class has conquered with its blood, from the working day to conditions. So, the problem points against the wage, it points against the working day, it points against conditions, it points against labor organization, it points against all the rights won by the class; stability, time of service, pensions, etc., etc., it makes them *chichirimicos*, that is, it is a total destruction of what has been won in decades by the struggle of the proletariat and of the Peruvian people since the beginning of bureaucrat-capitalism and that cannot be allowed. Well, at this time we are not going to analyze all that the law specifies, but that is something we must do soon.

Another group are the laws linked to the social functions of the State. There, for example, education, it is a direct blow against the education of the people; very, very simple, we already know, it aims against free education and to stifle with an education that is anti people's war, that is what the evaluation of the training programs for professional teachers is for, that is not even mentioned, they only talk about education but they do not talk about professional training. The provisions on the university, the demagogic, of the baccalaureate, at the end of the day it is a fragile imperialist loincloth, there it also points

against free education, to elitize it more, to control it, to submit it, it wants to destroy the little that remains of the university; goodbye autonomy, what autonomy is there? I believe that this is one of the characteristics, they intend to endorse with Decree Laws and thus make “legal” the grossest violations of fundamental rights that are established in the Constitution and in the laws and not by their grace but against their will and by the struggle of the people. The laws related to health and everything that talks about social security, are also a group of social laws that have to do with the obligations of the State. Have they ever thought about the budget they are debating? Of the 80% they give 60% to Economy and Finance, 20% to Defense and Interior and the rest to the other ministries, and doesn't the Constitution say that 20% is for education? But they allocate the rest for education, for health, for transportation, for all the services, you can see, then the social functions are totally minimized and even in a disdainful and arrogant way; education and health are two fundamental issues, and the masses, the Peruvian people do not suffer pauperization? and if we link this to the fact that they have not been concerned in the least with a social compensation plan then we can see that the people do not matter to them at all. So where is the social compensation plan? It does not exist. They have just formed another survival agency in Comas, to which they say they are going to give about 200.000.000 new Soles, that is another of the government's demagogic lies; this year, the agencies up to this moment, the survival agencies, or the agencies that work in the “social compensation”, have received 35.000.000 Nuevos Soles, but the agency they direct has returned the same amount, these are then the results, and even if they say that they are going to give for the “social compensation”, if this were so, they are only 100.000.000 budgeted because the truth is that this year there is no compensation, and the previous year the compensation was formal, they never applied the 400.000.000 they said they were going to be; today they are saying that they are going to give 300.000.000 dollars, is it true? Why do we say this? Because while Boloña says so, Mr. Jaillie says 200, so we have to see how much they are really going to give. So, we believe that education, health and social compensation show all the restrictive form of denial of the elementary functions that any State has, and what have they done in the health problem, a good part of the health that is in the State is fulfilled in Peru through the social security, the Peruvian Institute of Social Security (IPSS) and now how is it? they have also introduced a decree of the famous privatization that implies the privatization of health.

This document published in *The Republic* we think is useful, it is a publication of the Center Union of Workers of the Peruvian Institute of Social

Security, it was published on November 17th, here they analyze concrete things: the workers paid a total of 6% for health and retirement in their pensions, 3 times, and the employer paid 12% for these two things, now the workers pay 16% and the employers pay 2%, round! That is the magic of privatization, but not only that, but the way it is conceived is to embezzle, to steal from the workers of Peru in general, and the people, the class, will be sunk, who is going to pay for the pending obligations of the immense majority that cannot pay for insurance? I believe that this is the fundamental issue. The problem of social security must be seen, it must be analyzed, it must be kept in mind that Lenin himself told us that it is a function that the State must perform, and to which the worker does not have to contribute, it is enough because with the surplus value that they take from him, from there they must take for their needs.

I believe that these things must be seen in this way, these economic decrees, decrees of agrarian laws, labor laws (there is the problem of stability) and then the problem of the social functions of the State, of education, health, the problem of insurance and social compensation plans which for them is key; The situation of the masses is extremely delicate and desperate in America and can explode, in backward countries there is a high index of critical poverty and this is complicated for them, plans of the type that have been applied in Peru are always accompanied by social compensation plans, but here they have not done so. But let us think, the State, if it does not fulfill its elementary functions, what sense does it have, according to bourgeois theory, it serves for nothing, then what does it serve for, it carries the essence of the problem: it serves to exploit, to oppress, that is what it serves for, to defend, in the midst of the blood they shed, their order, to crush the people and to dream of putting out the popular war, what else does the State serve for here, and obviously to defend the interests of imperialism today, what else does it serve for? The social functions are irrefutable proof, one more proof of the expiration of the State. That in terms of “reimpulse”. We believe that with all this we will see that they sow the winds, as the document says, the storms are going to reap them before and many of them.

F. 2ND TASK: RESTRUCTURING THE OLD STATE

Regarding **Restructuring**. We see phenomena such as the privatization of the State, not only in the sense of transferring its functions to non-State monopolies, not only in that sense, but the restructuring of the State is being solved by changing the forms, or better said, by minimizing, reducing, eliminating the forms of production controlled by the State, that is the base for

restructuring in our country. For years the State in Peru, since the '50s, especially in the '70s, has increased State ownership and the economic function of the State, this will bring them a set of relations of State monopoly and today these are the ones they are seeking to reduce and eliminate, this is the basis of the restructuring they are developing, of the restructuring of the State. Is it clear? On this basis they are developing.

To this we must add the following, the reduction of State action in its social function as we have just seen, of its duties and this has a key point which is the massive layoff of State employees, precisely several provisions are to start releasing state employees under the cover of paying them bonuses; there have been several provisions of this type and a final one where it is proposed until the middle of this month to define the situation and put an end to this year's problem. This is a key point and we have to think about the struggles of the state employees who are the lowest paid employees, those who have lost the greatest purchasing power; it is not as one might think, the reduction of the bureaucracy, it is not like that, what we are talking about is the launching of the State employees which is different, that is not the bureaucracy, the bureaucracy is the reactionary administrative system that the State sets up and which is fundamentally based on its officials, we have to separate it well from the employees, they are the people who work in the functions that the State has the obligation to provide; Therefore, part of reducing the State functions is to reduce the State employees, and in this way reduce their budgetary expenses, which they consider to be the root of their inflation, so it is key for them.

Well, we have proposed in the Party, the Congress says that the Peruvian State is developing in a reactionarization process, so that is what we have to see, this process is still going on, they are still promoting it. On this basis that they have already given and these restrictions, fundamentally those of employment democracy, come their measures and more than their measures, their action to undermine the executive, the function of the other two powers, the legislative and judicial powers, mainly the legislative power.

Well, in the comments transcribed in the 2nd Plenum we are going to see about the political issue as a result of the regulation of the Supreme Decrees, do you remember, when they said that the resolution issued should be consulted, that they should agree to give their opinion so that there would be more "democracy", as a result of which it says:

"Part of the restructuring of the State. This is how he wants to advance in this task, he questions the parliamentary demo-bourgeois order: Institute for Liberty and Democracy (ILD) source of legislation

(rural and neighborhood registries, ambulant, autonomous authority, Fujimori doctrine, administrative simplification, etc.); ‘direct democracy’ (participation, ‘integral democracy’). This process will continue and is directly linked to Yankee imperialism through the ILD (De Soto) which is taking over state functions such as economic and diplomatic, for example. In addition, positions of fascist base; new fascism: substitute rethinking of the old bourgeois democracy.”

Here what it tells us is that this measure, for example, as well as those of administrative simplification that already started with García, are part of his State restructuring, that is why it says: **“This is how he wants to advance in this task, he questions the parliamentary bourgeois-democratic order [...]”** because it restricts his functions; **“the ILD is a source of legislation”**, of course if they make laws, they themselves make the projects and then they sign them as decrees; the autonomous issue is that for example, the autonomous coca organism, what other laws has it given? Rural and neighborhood registries, laws on street vendors, the “Fujimori doctrine”, administrative simplification, all this has been done by the ILD, then the ILD becomes a source of legislation, and it is no longer the parliament the source of legislation, that is why it says: **“it questions the parliamentary bourgeois-democratic order”**, very clear. Then, what are they talking about in Peru? they are talking about “direct democracy”, that is, they are proposing “participation”, they are proposing “integral democracy”, did Fujimori not say “integral democracy”? What does all this propose? It says there: **“This process will continue and is directly linked to Yankee imperialism through the ILD”**, who is the head there? De Soto, that is a direct agent of the U.S. **“[...] is taking over State functions such as economic and diplomatic”** of course, if Boloña himself is one of his close associates, only Boloña is more Rodríguez Pastor’s son than De Soto and Rodríguez Pastor is the one who has organized Fujimori’s arrival to San Francisco and the meeting with the bankers, etc. The current ambassador to Washington is an employee of the ILD, those are facts, those are examples of how they are copying, how other institutions set up with imperialist money, fulfill state functions through the executive, that is what it shows, without them being neither deputies nor senators nor members of the State, of any State organ, is that they are apparatuses of the monopoly and imperialism generate as advisors to the governments and give them documents, materials to satisfy their demands. It says: **“Besides”**, it says besides all this, it says **“besides positions of fascist base”**, it does not say that the laws that are given in Peru are fascist, but that they are of fascist base; it says **“new fascism”**, they cannot

be like the old fascism, they have to be a new fascism today, it says “**substitute rethinking of the old bourgeois democracy**”, we think this is an interesting situation.

Then, following *Oiga*’s denunciation of the fascist root of “participation” there is the following note:

“Questioning parliament is a basic position of fascism that points against the traditional bourgeois-democratic State structure, based on the denial of the principles, freedoms and rights established in the 18th Century, which postulates corporative organization and maximizes reactionary violence, all in function of the most unbridled class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, (big bourgeoisie in our case) and in the service of imperialism. Historically, fascism has developed more in critical moments for the old State, mainly when the revolution threatens to overthrow the outdated dominant order, but post-2nd World War fascism cannot, until today, openly develop as such, nor can corporativization, in spite of its multiple attempts and ‘theorizations’: ‘democratic corporativism’, ‘democracy of full participation’, ‘social democracy’, etc. In the country, Velasco’s corporatization failed in the ‘70s and in the ‘80s García Pérez could not even advance towards the ‘economic congress’. Today the reactionarization of the Peruvian State, which is its tendency, and the need to restructure the old State once again, which is its current task (one of the three, unavoidably united: to reimpulse, restructure and annihilate), raise once again the question of fascism and its confrontation with the rotten ‘bourgeois democracy’. It is within these processes and situation that we must place Fujimori and his government in order to unravel his increasingly clear fascist positions; but, without forgetting: 1) The crisis of bourgeois democracy that runs through the whole century has not yet ended, but even pretends to present it as rejuvenated and victorious, and even more, as the only possible way out. 2) To put an end to bourgeois democracy, with the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, it is necessary to demolish it thoroughly and completely by means of revolutionary violence whose concentrated and proletarian expression is the People’s War; and to build a New State, a new society, in our case a New Democracy which, once the democratic revolution is completed, develops as the dictatorship of the proletariat. 3) The so-called failure of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not such; the problem that has arisen is the usurpation of power by revisionism which has generated the restoration of capitalism; on the contrary, the dictatorship of the proletariat

in a few decades of exercise has led the greatest and deepest transformations that history has recorded; consequently, the question is the defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its unbendable continuation since it is constitutional to the triumph of Communism. 4) The old society generates fascism as an expression of its reactionarization (not the only one, since the other is the reactionary evolution of the parliamentary bourgeois-democratic system itself: United States, England, France, European countries), mainly as a weapon when the revolution threatens to demolish it. 5) Fascism has antecedents especially in the decade of the '30s in Peru, but without being able to advance; its greatest failure was with Velasco, however the greatest fascist advance in the country until today. 6) Fascism resumes its path, it is driven as a necessity of imperialism, mainly Yankee, and of the Peruvian reaction in the face of the conquest of power throughout the country; obviously it will draw lessons from its experiences in the country aiming to present a 'new people's and revolutionary and democratic face', but its essence is and will be the same: 'old wine, new bottles'; this process will take place (it is already foreseen) in acute struggle and collusion within the big bourgeoisie, between its comprador and bureaucratic factions and between groups of the same, complex struggle within the reaction whose contradictions must be used in function of the triumph of the democratic revolution. 7) We must take into account this situation and perspective to develop the People's War, to construct the conquest of power, to conquer power in the whole country."

We believe that here we see the problem of what fascism is, the problems it has had in the world, but it continues, it subsists although adjusting itself to the new conditions; then it also raises here the situation of Fujimori, "[...] **to locate Fujimori and his government in order to unravel his increasingly clear fascist positions**", we think that we should take this very much into account, we should understand that we cannot say "fascist" yet, they are fascist positions, the situation is not yet defined, last meeting we said "**ideas and positions**", it is fine, here we are simply seeing positions, it is an advantage, they are positions, we are no longer saying ideas, they are ideas, of course, only more established, that is what we mean by positions, well that is the main thing here. Then, in Peru, how did it happen, with whom did it advance more, with Velasco? And finally it is important that "**6) Fascism resumes its path, it is promoted as a necessity of imperialism, mainly Yankee, and of the Peruvian reaction in the face of the conquest of power throughout the**

country aiming to present a ‘new revolutionary and democratic people’s face’ but its essence is and will be the same, ‘old wine, new bottles’, this is the process, it is already foreseen and it will take place in acute struggle and collusion within the big bourgeoisie, between the comprador and bureaucratic factions and between groups, it is a complex situation, this is what we must repair; 7) says that we must take into account these situations and perspective to develop the People’s War and conquer power throughout the country.” Here the important thing is how to define Fujimori and his government, they are fascist positions, but we cannot say that he is a fascist, nor are they totally fascist positions, it would not make sense.

We have another quote that is better, it condenses things, it goes like this: Concerning *The Commercial* opinion on “Original ILD Proposal” this commentary states:

“This makes it possible to establish a difference between the reactionarization of the State advocated by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (corporativization based on union and institutionally organized participation), and that of the comprador bourgeoisie; The latter does not propose corporativization, but the further strengthening of presidential power as the axis of the executive which allows monopoly economic power, in essence imperialism, to directly exercise legislative and State administration functions, obviously aiming at the growing restriction of legislative power and the direct management of executive power, heading towards absolute concentration of functions; issues that undermine the State structure and correlation of powers of the traditional bourgeois-democratic State.”

The advantage of this commentary is that it establishes for us, it gives us elements to be able to differentiate in the process of the reactionarization of the State what is the position of the comprador bourgeoisie from that of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The bureaucratic bourgeoisie advocates **“corporativization based on union and institutionally organized participation”**, this is the characteristic note of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie; on the other hand, the comprador bourgeoisie **“does not propose corporatization but the greater strengthening of presidential power, as the axis of the executive [...]”**, this is the tendency of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie to **“strengthen the presidential power, as the axis of the executive [...]”**. This is the tendency of bourgeois democracy that Marx already established for us, although fascism is of this century, the reactionarization is already in the last century, and that is what Marx analyzed when he sees the government of Louis Bonaparte,

Napoleon III as they call him, in “The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte”, then that is what we are seeing: **“further strengthening of presidential power as the axis of the executive”**, that allows, there is a different note than the one we are putting here **“further strengthening of presidential power as the axis of the executive”** that is to say concentrates power even more: **“that allows monopolistic economic power, in essence imperialism, to directly exercise legislative functions”** that is the key **“and of State administration”**, that is to say that allows it to give laws to imperialism, to the monopolies, to give laws and to manage “democracy”. **“Obviously it points to the growing restriction of legislative power”** but not in the same way as fascism, is that clear, is it not, **“and to direct management of the executive power aimed at absolute concentration of functions, issues that undermine the State structure and correlation of powers of the traditional bourgeois-democratic State”**. This seems to us to be a good thing, it allows us to see characteristics of the reactionarization of the State; so what do we call this? As we saw before, it is the law of absolute concentration and we said that in this transit they are on the way, so what we were asking ourselves was if it could be said in this way: that the bureaucratic bourgeoisie aims at a new fascism while the comprador bourgeoisie aims at and develops executive absolutism, or it could be a presidential absolutism, these are things to be analyzed. We believe that in this way we have elements to understand it. That is the issue of the greatest reactionarization in Peru, those are the two positions and we have made progress in defining them. Now, if you ask us, and what are the laws or Decree Laws for this, we have said that privatization aims at changing that State guarantee, that part of State monopoly to pass everything to non-State monopoly, to imperialism, right? Well, that is what is happening to the restructuring; just as there are also laws to reduce the nationalization, the functions, the services of the State, this is what they aim at with laws on employees, simplification and all those things, we have not separated them, but those are, if necessary we will separate them here.

Let us also keep in mind these comments to journalistic information:

“Once again, as when the financing of the agricultural campaign was debated, one of the groups of the comprador bourgeoisie is aiming at softening the recession. A position linked to increasing the price of the dollar, increasing exports and recovering the particularly exportable industry; but now the situation is more serious: the recession undermines their entire productive process, which is creaking under the weight of Hurtado Miller’s imperialist plan, accentuated in December

and, even more so, under Boloña's 'stabilization' and 'reform' plans. Fujimori's unbridled pro-imperialism has repercussions even in part of the big comprador bourgeoisie. A pale indication of the abyss of hunger, misery, oppression and death into which the government, the system and imperialism are plunging the proletariat and the people!" (As a result of the economist Moreyra's statements, not to wait for the IDB credit to come at the end of the year, but for the BCR to issue; and that it is not necessary to continue paying multilaterals. *The Commercial*, 17.04.1991.)

"These statements of the PUM allow us to specify once again their positions. Regarding their action for 'land seizures' for 'restructuring' which opens 'a path of hope by closing the way to the Shining Path'; it implies: 1) any advance (if there is any) in recovering some land, in this case, is a by-product of the People's War; 2) 'seizures' to oppose the People's War and the Party; 3) who benefits? Not the poor (or at least not the poor); 4) furthermore, the land problem which they thought they had overcome, still exists, and what the Party said about the agrarian law of Velasco today they are repeating it, but yesterday, especially the now PUMists, condemned it as 'ultra-leftism', 'dogmatism', 'infantileism'. So, then, they have to swallow everything they vomited. As for their repeated phrases between 'two fires', 'they assassinate leaders' and that repression generates 'discredit and distrust of the State'; the first two are old talk and closed defense of rotten leaders on whom the popular justice fell; and the third inveterate defense of the Old State and shows how it hurts them what happens to their State, and they are not wrong; it is the udder that suckles them, like their cronies and congeners of the IU, among others. And as regards the solution, the 'alternative' they propose, let us highlight: a) 'land tenure', is the old position of Christian Democracy in the country (Cornejo Chávez); b) 'restructuring', is the PUMist version of the 'redimension' of General F. Morales Bermúdez; c) 'defend communal enterprise', is to maintain one of the associative forms and sustain the goodness of these false 'socialist' modalities; d) 'democratically choose the business model', is in agreement with Fujimori's decree; d) 'regional agrarian agreement' is one more example of their frontism (,modern farmers', big bourgeoisie) trafficking with reactionary regionalism." (Following the article "Puno: land and social justice" by Alberto Quintanilla, PUM deputy; *Express*, 07.06.1991.)

"This approach to labor stability, like others sustained by *Express* so ardently, superficially and reactionarily, is to return to the times

of ‘savage capitalism’, of 19th Century capitalism, before the unions and the great struggles for the demands of the working class (we do not say, obviously, of the conquest of power by the proletariat, of its dictatorship and of socialism), and in Peru to the beginnings of bureaucrat-capitalism; that is the essence of the new liberalism, here and in the imperialist metropolises where they engender it and from where they infest the world, in spite of all the verbiage, to the contrary, that they spread. Their dream is to return to the epoch of the most unbridled exploitation of capitalism, before the powerful development of the class struggle of the proletariat and the people, and the pressing threat of revolution, wrested by blood and fire, in heroic days, since nothing was given to them nor fell from heaven, the social laws sanctioning, simply, the conquest of liberties, rights and benefits in stormy struggles.” (On the editorial of *Express*: “Contemporary Muledrivers” on DS 032 that destroys labor stability; 26.10.1991.)

“It had to be *Express*, when is it not. The most shameless manifestation of pro-imperialist lackeyism and the most shameless denial of national independence and sovereignty. Behind this ‘theory’, of Fukuyama himself, of the supposed expiration of the national State, the blackest pirate flag of ‘down with the national States, destroy it! long live the Yankee world empire, praise be to the great gendarme!’ is hoisted. And it is proclaimed precisely when Fujimori (an ‘executor of the national State’, a ‘statesman of the coming century?’), develops his bases to fulfill the task of readjusting the Peruvian State. Besides, it is worth bearing in mind the lethal praise of Gorbachev. The problem of the State is the order of the day for both camps, revolution and counter-revolution.” (Regarding *Express*’s editorial on the expiration of the national State, “Executors of the national State”.)

G. 3RD TASK: ANNIHILATING THE PEOPLE’S WAR

Annihilate. One thing we would like to point out is that in the message Fujimori gave in July on the anti-subversive struggle, there were only generalities and triumphalism, he threw glories on himself and clucked about, for example, the civic action initiated by the armed forces, the action in the universities, the coups he says they have carried out, in other words, generalities and triumphalism that the facts have denied and continue to deny completely. He spoke of rights, of respect for the blessed human rights and we see the genocides he commits like this one committed in Barrios Altos in the middle of the

capital, and it is the height of the unbridled excess of the reactionaries, this is not something that can happen so easily in any country in the world because it is in the capital itself and a few blocks from the government palace. Well, another point to highlight is the Agreement, it is one of the cornerstones of their program, this Agreement has been made behind the back of the Congress itself, it has been behind the back even of their own parliament, which they have mocked outright when they went to report, there was nothing left to do, it is good to highlight what is in the document “On the Rectification Campaign With ‘Elections, No! People’s War, Yes!’”. There you can see how the U.S. sees it; what we should see is to derive the struggle that took place around the so-called “aid”, “aid” that has not been resolved because they have to show their correctness to receive the so-called aid, that is what is concrete: the Treaty, then why do we put it here? Because the cover is “anti-drugs” but the essence is counter-revolutionary war, counter-subversive war, that is what interests us here in the Treaty, the cover is anti-drugs and the essence is counter-People’s War. The Peace Council is another of the “great conquests”, the Peace Council aimed at forming an organization which in 150 days would produce a pacification plan, to this day it cannot even begin to march; between night and day, with internal struggles, a leadership has been born which from its birth is unknown, and what is more serious is that it is outside the plans of the Peruvian government; it has against it the opportunists and revisionists themselves who could give it a base. It has its back to the Church because it seeks to do its own work, the Church aims to position itself independently, it has already refused to preside it because it does not want to appear as the head of a crusade that is a cover for genocide, that is, it does not suit it, that is its appearance because in essence it is the one that organizes and mobilizes against the People’s War, we are seeing it in the countryside, we see it in the city and in the capital, but who does that? The hierarchy mainly, trafficking with the needs of our people; then we see that it also turns its back on them, in conclusion, the Council is an unborn child and is at this moment pending, it is a *chumbequito* that Fujimori holds in his hands through Reggiardo, that is, Reggiardo is a member of the leadership that they have formed, another conspicuous member is the owner of *Channel 5*, Delgado Parker, those types of people are the ones that compose it.

Let’s see other commentaries from the 2nd Plenum. In January, regarding the *Express* article, the commentary reads:

“The MRTA is promoted and ‘successes’ of the government and ‘setbacks’ of the Shining Path are touted. *Express* is a specialist in always writing against us, in conjunction with whom? With *The Peruvian*,

with *The Republic* and other rags, *The Commercial* always sinisterly with its apparent objectivity also covers up actions and attacks the People's War. Well, regarding an article in D'Ornellas' column 'Requiem for Abimael', D'Ornellas has been talking for some time about the Gulf War, that Marxism has expired, he spoke of the potential of the U.S., that we should be crying here but that we are stubborn but we do not understand, etc., that is why it is subtitled 'Requiem', well the commentary, which is from March, says:

„Position of the big bourgeoisie, mainly comprador: 'We already have a gendarme, we can sleep peacefully.'"

This is said by the article, and the commentary continues:

„But apart from expressing obsequiousness and absolute submission, let us highlight: 1) Being 'world gendarme' opens the Yankee perspective of confronting everyone, mainly the oppressed nations, this poses to draw lessons from the shocking decade of the '60s of the Proletarian World Revolution. 2) The U.S. was never more powerful nor had more prestige than at the end of the 2nd World War; remember how everything was turned upside down in the struggle against the national liberation movement. 3) The so-called 'total victory of the U.S.' creates more problems for imperialism, especially for the U.S. and its lackeys, than it solves; this is not a strategic perspective, but an acting reality, for example in the Middle East. 4) 'To make the revolution immediately dust' when it conquers power is the dream of all reactionaries, it is the dreamed restoration to which they will never renounce; today they are more sure and confident, they rely on the supposed failure of socialism and the caducity of Marxism, on the 'low-intensity war' (in its form of revision, in this case), on the 'total victory over Iraq' and on the blind faith in the reborn power of the 'invincibility of Yankee imperialism'. None of this is new or strange, except for the triumphalist drunkenness of the government headed by Bush and his gang (whose novelty lies in the great lack of reality that sustains it). We, firmly based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought; certain and convinced of the triumph of the Proletarian World Revolution and of the unstoppable march of humanity towards Communism and of the transcendence of the victory of the Peruvian Revolution; we must assume with ever greater determination the conquest of power throughout the country and fight boldly and unbendingly for the complete and complete triumph of the new social order, socialism up to Communism. We must take very much

into account all the experience of the World Revolution and mainly our own, the Party agreements on the 'eight possibilities' and the intervention of Yankee imperialism mainly, whether directly or indirectly, alone or in alliance and to prepare ourselves at all levels to confront it at any moment and under any conditions, raising our undefeated proletarian ideology and developing the invincible People's War, always under the leadership of the Party, always determined to oppose imperialism and reaction with a sea of armed masses for the conquest of power, for the People's Republic of Peru and its defense and for the future unfading goal of Communism. On the other hand, we must crush and smash such monstrosities as that of the feathered D'Ornellas and all similar attacks, for they are but part of the enemy's psychological warfare that seeks to undermine the revolutionary ranks and make the people believe that victory is impossible or useless; however, their own words show that the People's War is already threatening the total demolition of the Old State. As Chairman Mao said: the road is tortuous, but the future is bright. We must, therefore, dare to seize power and dare to defend it; let us take our destiny into our own hands!"

Well, we think it is very clear, what we can highlight is that D'Ornellas is essentially saying here that they already have someone to defend them, the U.S., that is, he is threatening us with the U.S., if we win they will take us out of a coconut tree, as he said later in another article where he says that we have no perspective, but he has taken a step back, he accepts that we can take power, then he says if that happens, his goal is unfeasible, why? The other democracies will not allow the war to subsist, to subsist, what this wretch is clamoring for is in essence the aggression of imperialism, the aggression of the surrounding reactionary governments. We think this is a good thing. Here is an editorial of *Express*, from November, which says: "*The plan of civilized coexistence*", it is important, it says: "*Democracy in Peru is only formal and epidermal*", that second is what interests us, let him explain later whatever he wants but this is the key idea:

"In Peru nothing is respected, neither the red light, nor the cleanliness of the streets, nor the obligation to pay taxes, nor property, nor the lords of the State, nor life; everything is aggression, abuse, contempt, Creole liveliness."

Well, what does it say here below:

"The Shining Path advances above all because there is no order or code of civilized life in Peru. The Shining Path offers an order, suffocating and brutal, but order at last."

Very well, then Mr. D'Ornellas, writing what his immediate master Ulla and imperialism send him, already feels the steps, that is why he attacks in

this way; they fear the revolution because they are defenders of the old order; well, they say that in recognition of the reactionary, they are not advancing in their plans, as *Express* has said many times, they are not advancing in their plans of annihilation.

Apart from the comments seen, it is good to consider these:

“The question is that if the Shining Path is the ‘right arm of drug trafficking’, the spearhead of Yankee action, or of action under their direction, should be against the People’s War; that is what the U.S. thinks (,narcoterrorism’), and here the reaction and its lackeys. All the recent debate on so-called ‘terrorism’ has been a prologue and preparation for the Prime Minister’s declaration in Congress and, mainly, for the ‘agreement on pacification’; but the same unfolds and will unfold in increased collusion and contention, apart from being neither easy nor immediate.” (“The anti-subversive strategy needs to be specified”, opinions of R. Ames, L. Cisneros V, R. González, Ferrero Costa, S. Pedraglio, and M. Talavera — IDL — published by *Express*, 19.04.1991.)

“The universities are in the sights of reaction, mainly of the counter-subversive struggle, behind the actions of the so-called Responsible Students of Areas of Strategic Developments ‘READE’ there is a police and even more a military plan of counter-revolutionary war, although this is only a ‘trial balloon’ or initial steps. The formation of *mesnadas* began in the countryside and then moved to the city; here it began in the slums, it is moving to the universities, it will move to trade unions and other city fronts. It is necessary to re-analyze the *mesnadas*, since the revival seen since last year in the countryside, is spreading as an impulse in the cities; this is another expression of the strategic stalemate, keeping in mind that it takes shape as follows: the enemy, to recover positions to maintain its system; we, to prepare a strategic offensive through constructing the conquest of power. That is why reaction is faced with the need to annihilate the People’s War and the Party and the people to construct the conquest of power.” (Following the organization of the READE in the university; *Express*, 20.04.1991.)

“This document is part of the central problem of the reaction: how to defend and maintain the Old State; a reiterated question that today demands a peremptory answer. But from the beginning, the proposals on the military question reveal serious divergences with what the Prime Minister informed on behalf of the government, thus the ‘agreement’ on so-called ‘pacification’ is not as simple as they believe it to be,

it will take place in the midst of intense and constant collusion and contention. On the other side, that of the revolution, the peremptoriness they put forward also shows that they reflect an evident reality: the People's War is unfolding in strategic stalemate.” (On the occasion of a proposal on “pacification” presented to the Prime Minister by *The Commercial, Express, The Republic, Eye, Caratas* and *Oiga*; 20.04.1991.)

“With the delivery of the mountains they begin to formalize the collusion for the so-called ‘pacification’; this is a part of a broader plan and campaign that has been promoted, mainly since April (presentation of the Prime Minister in Congress and conversations with party representatives); of which the MRTA is part (their activities in San Martin must be interpreted within what has been seen about their departure from Canto Grande; it is part of the same thing, although its concreteness is greater as a plan and collusion). All in function of the so-called ‘integral strategy’ against the People's War; to which, obviously, Yankee imperialism is decisively linked, one of whose bases of action is the ‘Anti-Drug Treaty’.” (As a result of different parties signing a document on “pacification”; *Express*, 22.05.1991.)

Well, let us look at the Legal Decrees on this issue, there are 23 decrees linked to pacification, we will refer only to a few of them. Let us begin with the most important ones. Decree No. 733 on “Mobilization”, says in its recitals:

“[...] by means of the National Mobilization and Demobilization the Nation's Potential [...] to face natural emergencies and those caused by terrorist crime and drug trafficking [...]”

Very clearly, the problem here is “terrorist crime”, it is to fight terrorism, that is the cause of the National Mobilization Law, it says that they have defined an integral strategy to fight terrorism and illicit drug trafficking, the last ones are words. Well, it says here in Article 1, where it refers to:

“[...] the requirements of the National Defense that allows for the timely availability and allocation of the necessary resources to face situations [...]”

That is mobilization. In Article 4:

“Natural and legal persons without exception are subject to the provisions of this law [...]”

Natural and legal persons, it applies to everyone here.

“[...] as well as the goods and services required by the National Defense.”

This article is very important to unmask, it applies to everyone, natural and legal persons, and goods at the disposal of the government, of the military, for the benefit of the mobilization. In Article 6, it says:

“For purposes [...] that favor the production of Military Equipment will have priority.”

Article 7:

“The expropriation, intervention, requisition.”

Word!

“[...] and the provision of services of any kind [...]”

If one sees here that is the fundamental thing, it is in function of the fight against us, let us see, article 3; it establishes the mobilization; article 4 says what can be mobilized, all the subjects, that is natural persons and companies, any company, everything, people and goods, there is nothing that cannot be mobilized; then what does article 7 tell us? What is it proposing? Expropriation, that is what the Constitution mandates, it allows it, intervention, and requisitioning? That is not allowed but here they are proposing it, that is what is concrete; here they are even proposing requisitioning, what is requisitioning? It is when one goes and just grabs, one can enter a house and requisition for example the food and take it away, requisition the furniture, requisition the house, that is requisitioning, or what is requisitioning, requisitioning is expropriating, collecting, taking immediately by order and disposition of war, that is what it means. We believe that this is the central issue that interests us, for what? To fight us, and then, what does it extend to? To all persons, to all groups and to goods and services; that is why the radio stations are protesting, of course, they can be interfered with, they can be requisitioned, they can be expropriated, their programs can be varied according to their needs, with the press it is the same, anything, any particular clinic, there is nothing that escapes them; that is what seems new to us and then, it introduces forms that are openly counter-revolutionary, such as requisitioning. Well, this is the most important thing, this is the law that has been attacked the most, because it hurts them, as it touches their pocket, they even put up with it, but if they touch their pocket they do not put up with it, they prefer to take care of their pocket more than their own skin.

Well, another important Legal Decree is No. 735. It modifies articles of the Regional Civil Defense System. In its recitals it reads as follows:

“That, in order to prevent disasters and to be in optimal conditions to provide timely and adequate help to the population to overcome damages or calamities that may be caused by nature or the action of terrorist crime [...]”

This Legal Decree aims at placing the Civil Defense against the People's War, under the cover of the so-called pacification; thus the law demands, says the recital, functions:

“[...] that could be caused by nature or the action of terrorist delinquency.”

That is also the object of Civil Defense, the action of terrorist delinquency, so it says. Civil Defense is for natural disasters, but here it is to fight us, that is it. Then it says in another recital:

“[...] coordinating actions, in order to replace or substitute the National Police [...]”

They want to substitute the National Police, that is; in other words, the elements of Civil Defense can be police officers, act as police officers, and therefore with the police laws, according to the police laws. Then it says:

“[...] allowing a greater coverage [...]”

Against whom? Against “narco-terrorism”, “to combat narco-terrorism”, that is what it says. So, it means using the means and contingents of the Civil Defense to fight us, that is; replacing the National Police, that is. In Article 6, which has been changed, we repeat, we have already seen the 5th article, right, the 6th article, what does it say:

“[...] guarantee the security of the population in accordance with the National Defense policy [...]”

Clause a of Article 6. In subsection c: They must act:

“[...] in the phases of prevention, emergency and rehabilitation [...]”

In “prevention” they must watch against whom they fight. In article 6, paragraph g:

“[...] replace the members of the National Police of Peru in tasks related to the surveillance of public and school premises, traffic control, protection of flora and fauna, care of women and minors and the like [...]”

In other words, it is a free contingent, unpaid police; free and subject to their rules, for what? To fight us; they are talking about public and school premises. Well, who tells us that they are not going to do this? who tells us that they are not going to regulate it? There is no problem in regulating it, what problem can there be, if all the regulations are always in charge of the Joint Command of the Armed Forces or of some other body of the Ministry of the Interior or of Defense. Article 4 says:

“Fourth [...] elaboration of a National Register of natural and/or legal persons using economic and financial funds for Civil Defense actions, as well as for its operation as the case may be.”

What kind of characteristics will it have? It does not say, the only thing it says here is a register of natural or legal persons, What is its function? That is what is of interest.

Another Legal Decree, No. 738, establishes the rules for the Armed Forces in areas not declared in a state of emergency. Here, what is the problem, Article 1:

“[...] establishes rules to which the Armed Forces must abide when intervening in areas not declared in a State of Emergency.”

According to the Constitution, the Armed Forces can only intervene when there is a state of emergency, that is what is concrete, and by supreme decree and with a fixed term, is this not the law, otherwise they cannot intervene, but here the intervention is declared; without a state of emergency, the Armed Forces can act, goodbye Constitution, that is what is concrete. And what does Article 2 say:

“The intervention of the Armed Forces in areas not declared in a State of Emergency may be carried out when there is a serious alteration of the internal order or when there is an imminent danger of its perpetration [...]”

That is, it does not even have to have been committed but may be intended.

“[...] that exceeds the operative capacity of the National Police of Peru.”

So, first, they have been empowered to intervene without a declaration of emergency; second, not only for the commission of the act but also before the police overrun, and how do they know that the police overrun will occur; but here they are saying:

“[...] in the event of a serious disturbance [...] that exceeds the capacity of the Police.”

So, with this criterion they can often dispose, and who disposes of them? They, at their free will, the military chief of the region where the event takes place, without higher authorization, that is what the law says; of course, if the subject says we are going to do such a thing, even genocide, they will say that the police force has been exceeded; then, this is, not only when they exceed but also when they could exceed, prevent. Then now what does article 3 say:

“The Command of the Armed Forces will be informed.”

This way they wash their hands, of course, the superior washed their hands, the Interior also, because they will have seen concrete facts; this way they can dispose and decide invoking this article because nobody is going to analyze it, this is another way of hiding the fight, it is a *carte blanche* to any little chief to do and undo where he sees that the police force has been exceeded. What the hell can the government powers of Peru say? The whole of Peru is subject to the Armed Forces; there it is, it is another repressive decree against the People's War and against all the people.

Legal Decree No. 740, on the possession of weapons by the *rondas*. Here in the recital it invokes the law of Peasant Committees, it invokes the law of recognized *rondas*, peasant patrols; committees have been created, the *rondas* that they create in accordance with those laws. And it says:

“[...] whose characteristic is that of being peaceful, democratic and autonomous, destined to the service of the community and that contribute to the development and social peace without partisan ends.”

But in a war, how can peace be achieved? It is assumed by fighting in the war, participating in it; where is the “peaceful”, where is the “democratic”, the “autonomous”? The law is undone, that is the concrete. So, then, it is confirmed by law that weapons can be carried not only by the Armed Forces and the police, and what does the Constitution say? It is totally opposed to that and goes against its own principles of order; and it is not what we think, that is not what interests us now, now what interests us more is what they think, because that is the key point, and here the problem is that they arm with their own laws forces to fight us, that is to say, they fuel the war more, they are creating cannon fodder by m *ronderos* and date without the judge intervening. But here it says *“they contribute to the development”*, aha! One more function the *ronderos* have? What function do they have of “development”, of making roads, of making bridges? For free or paid? With free work, that is what the recital means, in the end it is free work, even if it does not put it this way. The recital says:

“[...] in agreement, all arms, ammunition and explosives [...] are subject to requisition [...]”

There it is, it is based on the mobilization law, do you remember the mobilization law? There it includes requisition, everything can be requisitioned, and by law everything must be handed over, even the paid goods; in this way in the jungle for example, the peasants who buy arms for their work with this provision, military hand, they requisition them, they have to hand them over and thus they arm their own patrols. In other words, men and weapons are provided by the masses, they don’t provide anything, they used to provide rifles but now they don’t even provide rifles, now they are very cheap, you have to provide blood and rifles, we look like artisans, you have to provide everything to work, everything comes from the masses, weapons and men. Well, here, what is the most important thing? That they will be able to acquire hunting weapons, shotguns, by donation from the State or private individuals. From article 2:

“[...] in activities of self-defense of their community to avoid terrorist infiltration [...]”

That is the objective, it is very clear.

“[...] to defend themselves from attacks [...] and to support the Armed Forces and Police [...]”

So, where is their pacifism? They have turned them into reactionary armed forces by mandate. Article 3 says:

“The norms on the acquisition process [...] will be dictated by the Joint Command.”

Of course, we have another source of legislation now, the Joint Command.

Another law is Legal Decree No. 743, “National Defense System”. What are we interested in here? We are interested in Title 2: “Of the Unified Pacification Command”, we are interested in Article 12: “Purpose of the Unified Pacification Command”.

“It is the body in charge of ensuring the participation of all sectors of the citizenry in the activities of National Pacification in the Internal Front, in the face of the actions of terrorist subversion and illicit drug trafficking.”

Very well, what is here, as in these laws, in the basis of the articles is, following the Yankee theory that it is a war being waged against drug trafficking, that is the problem here, it is not a police problem, it is a military problem. It is the complete submission to the dictates of imperialism, to the U.S. The armies of Bolivia have been opposed, until finally they have accepted, those of Peru have also been opposed, they did not agree, Minister Torres Aciego himself said that they would not intervene, that it was police work, but here, what happens now, it is against terrorism and illicit drug trafficking to achieve the coverage of the forms to combat the People’s War, they submit to this and accept the Yankee theory of being an instrument at the service of the U.S. also for this problem, obviously subsidiary. That is the question, it cannot have the same magnitude as to combat subversion. That is directly a concrete instrument, but that is what it tells us; it was formed, it is the Unified Pacification Command. Who makes it up? Article 13 says:

“President of the Republic, who presides over it, and may delegate it to the President of the Council of Ministers.”

Of course, the President of the Council of Ministers or else the President, that is, they can take turns; Ministers of State who are summoned. The President of the Joint Command, Head of the Secretariat of National Defense. Head of the National Planning Institute, representatives of other Sectors, etc., etc. In conclusion, who are the constants here, the president of the Council of Ministers substitutes for the president when he does not go, so he is neither the president nor the president of the Council of Ministers, here it is the

president of the Joint Command, he is the constant. Who is another constant? The head of the Secretariat of National Defense, and the other constant is the head of the National Planning Institute. The president of the Council of Ministers has many things to solve, obviously the president too, and the one in charge of planning is Reggiardo at the moment, and who is going to listen to him? So it is true, then, that the Armed Forces manage it fully and completely through the President of the Council and fundamentally through the Secretariat of National Defense which is the one that manages the whole system, even the links with non-military organizations in accordance with the military law. We believe that this is the essential. Another thing that is of interest is Article 6. (Title 5, Chapter 2: "Of the CFA", article 6.)

"The President of the Joint Command [...] is the Head of the Operational Command of the Internal Front for the purposes of National Pacification, for which he will have a Joint Staff, which will be made up of members of the Armed Forces and the National Police."

There it is, the Operational Command, who directs it? It is saying it here, the Chief of the CFA, who else is there? A Joint Chief of Staff, of the military it is understood, and who else is there? obviously the police because they also have to support and fight. Conclusion: the Unified Pacification Command and the Operational Command of the Internal Front, in the hands of whom? the president of the Joint Command, head of the Armed Forces, who manages the whole problem? the Armed Forces. Centralization, of course, through whom? The Armed Forces, it's a circle. This is an example of absolute centralization.

Legal Decree No. 749:

"Modifies Article 5 of Law 24150, in order to regulate the relations of the Political Military Command of the Zones Declared in Emergency with various authorities within their jurisdiction."

What does it tell us? That they can intervene in any zone declared in emergency but before they lacked the control of the civil and state apparatus and assets, now that has been clarified, that is the modification. It says, article 1:

"Modify [...] such paragraphs [...] b) To assume the initiative to ensure the participation of the Public and Private Sectors, located in the Emergency Zones [...]"

"Assume the initiative", that is, they do not have to wait for any order from the civil authorities, they say they have to do such and such and they do this or that, they assume what they think, that means that they will assume the initiative, decide what to do;

“[...] to ensure the participation of the Public and Private Sectors [...]”

Ah! Also of the private sector! It says here:

“[...] Private, located in the Emergency Zones, if this is coordinated with the Mobilization Law [...]”

It's amazing, isn't it? They get into a garage and take all the cars, it is enough to take them, it is easy to invoke the law and that is it; it says here:

“[...] in order to achieve National Pacification and the eradication of terrorist crime and drug trafficking.”

Drug trafficking is a figure of speech, but what we are interested in is the Public and Private Sectors, so there it is, they are going to manage everything! What is left in Peru? Not even the Palace is going to be managed by Fujimori. Well, it says:

“d) To coordinate actions with the different Public and Private Sectors, for the fulfillment of the Pacification and Development plans approved for the Zones under its jurisdiction.”

Wow! Not only does it have initiative, now it is going to coordinate actions for the fulfillment of the action and development plans, very good. Then it tells us that there are pacification and development plans, they are the plans of the low-intensity war, those are “defense and development” plans as they call them elsewhere, which are fundamental to conduct the low-intensity war, here they call them “pacification and development”; the word pacification should not confuse, it is defense, it is counter-revolutionary war, and they join it to development in order to trick the masses, doesn't Tapia say the same thing? *“District pacification and development committees”*? So, all this that we have said before is to conduct military plans, this is the situation. Well, Article 2, what does it say? It modifies subsection c) of Article 5 of the above mentioned Legal Decree by the following text:

“It conducts the Development actions in the areas under its jurisdiction. To this effect, the Political Authorities, those of the Public Bodies, those of the Regional and Local Governments, shall make available to it [refers to the Political-Military Command] the economic and financial resources, goods and services, personnel and others that may be necessary for the fulfillment of its mission, aimed at achieving the eradication of subversion [...]”

And so on. There it is then, not only that they have the initiative to organize it, to carry out the pacification actions and the pacification and development plans and the other low-intensity war plans, but now to direct the development actions, and who has to submit? Public organizations, it is so broad! Even the schools, are they public or what are they then? *“Regional and Local Governments”*, how funny, it only remains to say *“if we forget something, it is within*

this article”, there is nothing that escapes them; then where is the management of the Regions, of the Municipalities, of the State itself, everything is managed by the Army, it controls it, half of Peru is under a state of emergency or more. That is what is real. And then all the other means or whatever is necessary must be handed over to the Armed Forces for pacification, here they are going to apply the idea of surpassing the police.

“j) *To have under its command the members of the National Police of Peru that render services in the areas of its respective jurisdiction [...] in the fight against terrorism and drug trafficking [...]*”

Perfect, the police, of course, under its command. Then:

“k) *To enter university campuses with the purpose of reestablishing the principle of authority [...] that classes develop normally and prevent the action of infiltrated terrorist groups that through violence [...]*”

And so on.

“[...] *ensure [...] the use of the University Dining Halls and Residence Halls [...]*”

What autonomy are they going to talk about with this? They are ensuring their intervention, it is a legalized aggression and they talk about strengthening the “*principle of authority*”, “*normality of the classes*”, “*so that the Residence and the Dining Hall can function*” and how is the dining hall going to function? They have to get into the university dining room and from what we have been told that is what they are doing; then, in the residence halls they are going to act as guardians: “What time do you arrive, young lady? What time do you arrive, young man?” What is that going to be, because they could not solve it in any other way, they will see who they will put and who they will throw away. Then:

“i) *To participate in Civic Action work so that the Universities recover their prestige.*”

Guaranteed the intervention in San Marcos, La Cantuta, Huancayo, etc., but now by law. That is the problem, and they cannot enter San Marcos, of course, if it is “foreseen” that the police will be overrun if they enter. Well, this is how they solve very important problems, under the protection of the Armed Forces.

Legal Decree No. 753, “Law of Bases of the Integral Strategy of Alternative Development to Eradicate Illicit Drug Trafficking with the Participation of the Population”, this is the organization proposed by the ILD, so it is an invention of the ILD. Now, what is the name of this organization? What interests us here is to see the declarations that they are going to work wonders, words! Chapter 4: “Of the Institute for Alternative Development (IDEA)”, that

is the mother of the lamb, the ILD is born, that is all. They even have a candidate today, who is González del Río, another member of the ILD.

Legal Decree No. 751, “National Defense Planning Directive for Pacification”. In the third recital, it says:

“That it is necessary to approve the Integral Strategy of National Pacification, which not only allows eradicating Subversion, Terrorism and Illicit Drug Trafficking but also strengthening the Rule of Law, consolidating democracy and achieving the integral development of the country.”

How important is this recital, here it specifies the so-called “Integral Strategy of Pacification”, that is the advantage it has. Then, “Integral Pacification Strategy”, it has 5 points, we repeat first: Subversion; second: Illicit drug trafficking; third: Rule of Law, as it says here *“to strengthen the Rule of Law”*; fourth: Democracy, it says *“to consolidate democracy”*; five: Integral development of the country, of its State. The first one is the real one, the second one is the coverage, which is demagogy, isn’t it, that is what corresponds to it. But in the first article it says:

“To approve Directive No. 003 [etc.] of the National Defense Planning for Pacification, as a normative instrument that ensures the coherence of the actions of the other Public and Private Organizations for the fulfillment of said Directive.”

Wow, tremendous! They have given us here, they have exposed it, a national defense planning for pacification, what does it aim at? it ensures the coherence, the harmonic, synchronized march of whom? Of the others, aha! Who is it talking about? The Armed Forces, and who are the others? Public and private organizations, those are all the others. You can see that they have a disposition and if we compare this with the Law of Mobilization they can affect people and natural assets, or institutions with their functions, companies, everything; then they have a plan, they have their action in pacification and how to make the action of the others coherent with their own action, and who are the others? Public organizations: the whole State.

Article 2 says:

“The Directive [...] of the National Defense Planning [...] has a priority character [...] and its actions will be executed in the short and medium term.”

Very interesting, it implies that there is a plan for the short and medium term, and this has a priority character, to the economic process? Yes, to the social process? Yes, why? Because it is pacification, of course, that is what is being done. There is a short and medium term pacification plan which is a priority. They have a plan to which all the non-governmental organizations are subject to, that is to say, all the State apparatus and all the individuals and then

there is a short and long term plan, and that is a priority, it is finished, that is what they are telling us, very clearly. Now it says:

“Article 3. The Ministries, Public Bodies and Regional Governments will comply with the Directive, and must formulate their plans, programs and budgets within 30 days as from the effective date of the Supreme Decree.”

Gee, do you understand? There is a plan in which there are the individuals, the State bodies, everyone; there is a short and long term plan; and, now, everyone formulates their plans, the ministries, the public bodies and the regional governments. They are going to formulate their plans, *“programs and budgets within 30 days”*. Very well, we already know, there is a plan, they have to present them for the approval of the State and the private sector also enters there; there is a short and medium term plan; programs, plans, budgets have to be made, for what? the answer is in Article 5:

“The Directive in reference has the Classification of RESERVED [...]”

Therefore it is not published.

“[...] and its content will be disseminated in accordance with the safety standards corresponding to such classification.”

It will be given to each one in accordance with such fact that corresponds to it, wonderful! And Mr. Bernales, what did he say about the present decree? That it cannot be accepted because it is a body of law and a law that is not published does not govern? Of course a law has to be published, I agree, but this is not the main problem, besides, it is already in force and when the 30 days are over we will see, of course it has to be in force unless the Parliament repeals or disallows it, very difficult! Well, there it is, another model of democracy and it is marching steadily towards absolute concentration, absolute centralization, is that right or not? It is a mistake to say that militarization has been sealed, as if that solved the problem, it is not simple militarization, but what does that imply? The armed forces, what are they? Part of the State, they are its spine and now the armed forces are the support and head of the State, they are “handling everything”, and above all “as they please”; and, secret, watch out! Anyone who wants to publish it, I will put him in jail for a lot of years and that’s it.

Legal Decree No. 748:

“Modifies several articles of Law No. 25103 in order to adapt it to the National Pacification policy with a view to eradicating subversion and drug trafficking.”

It refers to what? To the reduction of the sentence, that is what it refers to. This legal decree modifies the problem of repentance, it recuses the previous

norm of repentance, it gives other norms to repentance. This is in Article 3, it says:

“The provisions of this Legal Decree do not apply to the leaders, national and regional leaders, military commanders or members of annihilation squads of terrorist organizations.”

Of course, according to their theory of repentance, it should be extended as much as possible to divide, right? Even members, not even heads, members of annihilation squads, all of them, this provision does not apply to them. Of course, it is convenient for us, it is fine, but within their system it is one more expression of this reactionarization. For us, we repeat, it is very good, it is convenient for us because it undermines their own “repentance”, it is an expression of the reactionarization, of how they militarize more, of how they apply more harshly, it is the tendency to accentuate the sanction, the penalties as they say are very severe, more restrictive, more oppressive. This is an expression of the course and for us it is an advantage, it is good because it contributes to their own undermining. This may make them think that they want the “recalcitrant” Party members to pay, as they say, but we well know that the members of the annihilation squads are not even militants, therefore, it is their problem.

Legal Decree No. 759. Modifies articles of the Compulsory Military Service Law. Article 2 will now read as follows:

“Military Service is an honor and a patriotic obligation [...]”

Article 4 reads:

“The objectives of the Military Service Law are: a) That all Peruvians [...] are trained [...] for the Defense; b) That the country has educated and trained Reserves available in a timely manner [...]”

Up to here it is clearly seen the eagerness to expand their forces without increasing their expenses and they express it in all these laws, they reveal the lack of troops both military and police, and as sustaining them is expensive, then the people should also bear this obligation; the Compulsory Military Service is tremendously expanded, and it is expanded not only as it was before to serve in defense of the homeland in the Armed Forces but to cover police functions through Defense; according to the bourgeois law there are two obligations: The defense of the homeland against foreign aggression, that is, the Obligatory Military Service and the payment of taxes to the State, but now they have included the police function, it is another distortion of their bourgeois principles in order to defend the reactionary system. The following is important:

“c) That Peruvians of age to serve, carry out civic action activities contributing to the development of the country.”

Oh, my! they introduced a law already generalized, full, complete, why? Because they say here that they:

“[...] carry out civic action activities contributing to the development of the country.”

We have precisely just seen that they are only two obligations, now it turns out that obligation is also civic action in service of the country, what does that imply? Establishment of an obligation of free work, it goes against any norm of a civilized and advanced system, two, but what is civic action? It is one of the activities to develop low-intensity warfare, what a good thing! That is to say, now they are going to carry out low-intensity warfare for free, through the development, not only of conscripts, now it is also work and it is considered “Military Service” and the law is going to be obligatory. Now let us look at Article 37, it says:

“In order to define the order in which the Selected should be recruited to the ranks, a lottery will be held.”

They always do it this way, people register, there is a lottery and the necessary contingent is covered, now it says:

“Those selected who are not incorporated to the Active Service, as a result of the lottery will remain in the Condition of Available [...]”

In other words, if they are drawn they go to active service, but if they are not available, available means that at any time they can call you in.

“[...] those who will perform their Service in activities of: Civic Action, Civil Defense, Peasant Rondas and Literacy Programs.”

They have established a first Compulsory Military Service, to serve the Armed Forces, which is the traditional and accepted one; a second one, Civic Action; a third one, Civil Defense; a fourth one, Peasant Patrols; and a fifth one, Literacy Programs. One problem has escaped them, the self-defense groups, but they will put it, they will put it, when they publish their errata, nothing prevents them from putting it, if they put all of this in! In other words, we have 5 types of Compulsory Military Service in Peru, even for what, for literacy programs, and it is not that someone is going to do it as a vocation but by obligation, they have to do peasant *rondas* by obligation; Civil Defense is going to be unpaid police; and civic action, to do the works that serve the low-intensity war. This is a barbaric multiplication of the obligations that citizens have.

“In case of not being able to comply with the Service [...] the Selectmen will pay a one-time pecuniary contribution [...]”

What does this say? in other words, the mother's son who has money pays and that's it, just like the road conscription, if one did not go, he paid, but now how many conscriptions do we have, and that, the road conscription, was considered a scourge of Leguía's government. And these 5, or these 4, subtracting the usual Military Service? So, they are increasing to 5 mandatory services at least to fight the People's War.

Legal Decree No. 761. Here it refers to penalties for carrying weapons that belong to the Armed Forces or the police, why have we selected it? The second recital reads as follows:

"That the existence of a criminal alliance between drug trafficking and terrorist groups that operate in the country has been clearly evidenced, the same that is expressed in the delivery of money and weapons to these [...]"

They say that there is an alliance that is proven between drug trafficking and terrorists, and they wash their hands of it. And what does this have to do with it? First of all, to make a mess, but it works out badly for them, why? Because here it is about not being able to use the weapons of the army or the police; but those of drug trafficking, those that they would give us, would they be those of the army or those that they bring? What are the weapons that drug traffickers use, they are weapons that the Armed Forces do not have, they buy them; so what sense does it make, there is not even a clear idea of what they are aiming at. It says another recital, in this paragraph there are interesting things:

"[...] homicidal terrorism by means of the assault to isolated military posts and ambushes to personnel of the Forces of Order [...] appropriates the armament [...]"

Why is it interesting? Because they recognize that there are assaults and ambushes, how does terrorism act? When did a terrorist ambush? When did a terrorist assault? They are the most developed forms of guerrilla combat, and they are the two key forms of the People's War. How then do they say that it is "terrorism", then the recital here is absurd, absurd, just muddying; and this one is recognizing, then. They say that the weapons are given to us by the drug traffickers, and here we take the weapons from them in assaults and ambushes, so it is not that we buy them, is it not; that is what is interesting, it recognizes the type of action we do and the weapons are an illustration of guerrilla action. Now what does it say, in the third recital it says:

"[...] in order to avoid the worsening of the climate of violence unleashed by terrorist groups, in their purpose of destroying our democratic system and the Rule of Law."

Aha! they recognize the objective, what is it? *"To destroy their democratic system and their State"*, all this reveals that we aim to destroy their army which is

the spine, and to bring down their State, that is not called terrorism, it is called war, People's War. There are the articles, but what interests us most are the concepts. That is the whole problem.

Legal Decree No. 762 protects the secrecy of the activities carried out and the information obtained or processed by the National Defense System. It says in its first recital:

"[...] the integral strategy to eradicate terrorist crime and drug trafficking demands the active participation of all Peruvians and at the same time requires keeping the necessary confidentiality regarding information that, due to its nature, could cause or generate serious damage to Security [...]"

The second recital states that these activities developed by the Defense System:

"[...] are of singular importance in the fight against terrorism and drug trafficking [...] it is imperative to protect secrecy [...]"

Based on what it has said, it establishes that the following Article be introduced in the Criminal Code:

"Article 1 — Incorporate to Chapter I, Title XV, Book Two of the Criminal Code, the following Article: Article 331-A. Whoever by any means discloses, reproduces, exhibits, disseminates or makes accessible in whole or in part, the content of secret information and/or activities of the National Defense System [...]"

It says here, *"whoever disseminates, reproduces, discloses, etc."*, then it says:

"Whoever provides or makes accessible to third parties, without the pertinent authorization, the information and/or activities [...]"

There are two things here. Those who disseminate or make available in any way, whatever it may be, those who make known; and the others, those who provide to third parties. This is already sanctioned, it is punishable, and it says not less than 5 years and not more than 10, a little low, isn't it? And in the other case it is not less than 6 (when it is to third parties) and not more than 12; well, all are extreme.

And, finally, the Code of Criminal Procedure. Legal Decree No. 764. This is funny. This is the one signed by Mr. San Roman. Modification of Article 1 of Legislative Decree No. 731, referring to the validity of the Code of Criminal Procedure. Specifically, 731 stated that the Code of Criminal Procedure should be in force as of 1994, they proposed it that way. Well, but there has been a protest from the Public Prosecutor's Office, where is the problem? what happened here? what else was there? Now they are very concise, and especially in the grounds of 731 they lash out, they say that the Public Prosecutor's Office has not taken the necessary measures to prepare its cadres, then; they lash out

with the fact that it is not in a position to function, to guide, they say, from the police investigation, so it says, “it is not”, that is the mother of the lamb, it is not in a position to guide the police investigation, so it must be given time to prepare itself and meanwhile the police continues to lead the investigation alone, that is, that is the mother of the lamb. Reading 731 and this one, 764, it is very clear, that is why the Public Prosecutor’s Office protested, now they do not say anything but they say this:

“[...] Article 1 of Legal Decree No. 731, has extended the temporary scope of application of the new Code of Criminal Procedure, without having observed the provisions of Article 3 of the Authoritative Law [...].”

It is over, everything else does not count anymore, they have taken away the “offense” from the Public Prosecutor’s Office and then the little meat that was there, that it does not handle the police investigation, nor control it, nor observe it, that is the whole problem, that is, so that everything is left totally in the hands of the police. It says: *“Article 1. Modify Article 1 of Legislative Decree No. 731 [...].”*, which will now read as follows: *“Article 2. The Criminal Procedural Code will come into effect on May 1, 1994, except for Articles 2, 135, 136, 138, 143, 145 and 182 to 188 [...].”*

Well, but what happened? In 731 they skipped two articles, article 138, they did not consider it, and what does article 138 say: the judge’s substantiation, right? if the judge does not substantiate the detention, there is room for appeal, and this was put aside, no, therefore there was room for appeal and it was said “this has not been put”; therefore, we repeat, the judge could declare without substantiation, or without the proper substantiation. They “forgot” this article. The 143rd article refers to the arraignment. How interesting, the arraignment is when there is no merit for detention or when the person passes without any consequence. And they forgot it olympically, it could then give margin for there to be no arraignment, especially for prisoners, they are monstrosities, right? And they had taken it out, they have just put it here. Law 731 does not contain those articles, neither the one referring to the judge’s grounds nor the one referring to the appearance. So, that is the issue here. But we believe that this clearly expresses the core issue, which we commented on a few hours ago, to leave it in the hands of the police. Well, those are the articles.

It seems to us that apart from this, we must take into account the Presidential Directive on respect for human rights, this part we believe must be taken into account. In part 4, “General Provisions”, it says:

“a) Proposals for institutional changes. (1) The Peruvian government constitutes a Commission that shall present in the shortest time possible, a report on the municipalization

and/or regionalization of police functions complementary to those that are under the competence of the National Police of Peru.”

There is a Commission, it is going to present the report on municipalization and/or regionalization of complementary police functions: two police forces, one Regional Police and the other Municipal Police, complementary, very interesting. Some time ago, the *Expreso* said that the police must be reorganized, it must be municipalized, otherwise it becomes entangled and this is a complex problem, but the police cannot be developed as a centralized organization. So, conclusion: the current centralized problem is maintained, which has about 85.000 components, and the police is going to be increased, according to what it says here, two more police forces are going to be created: Municipal and Regional. This is also the way to increase the police force, it is a cheap way to increase the police force, compared to the other we have seen, it seems to us that this is the cheapest way.

“(2) Starting from the understanding that the Police should not finish its work with the collaboration of the police report [attention! it extends the function to the Police, that is what they demand] a ‘Special Investigations Unit’ should be created, with a police body linked to the PNP, but at the exclusive disposal of the Judicial Power and the Public Ministry [you see? special investigations, linking the police to the judicial power, that is what is concrete] whose mission will consist in taking care of the security of witnesses and other means of evidence, carrying out additional investigations requested by judges and prosecutors and making possible the fulfillment of all judicial orders that are communicated to it.”

Apparently this serves to expand the judicial police, but in the end, what is it going to be? To continue intervening and controlling the actions already in court, it seems to us that it is going to be involved up to there, however, now, in the future, it wants to be handed over to the investigation, to the management of the prosecutor, but, as long as this does not happen, it is going to be more and more involved, within the process of the investigation because the Police nowadays goes as far as the report, does it not? But between the report and the end of the investigation they do not act, the investigating judge acts, now they want to put “assistants” to do the investigations, to protect the witnesses, to see the evidence, but who is going to manage these guys? The National Police, here of course it does not say that it is dependent, it says that it is linked, but they, well, they are not going to say that it is dependent, are they? Now look what he is going to say:

“(3) The Peruvian Government will create an inter-institutional control instance. The different State agencies involved in the counter-subversive struggle must not function as ‘compartment-lockers’, that is to say, their responsibility must not be fragmented and,

consequently, diluted. The police instances must continue to intervene in the process even after having fulfilled the task of placing the detainees at the disposal of the judicial authorities.”

Amazing, isn't it? Now they even extend the function of police evidence. It says:

“In general, it should be able to articulate more organically the institutional efforts deposited in the achievement of the pacification of Peru.”

This is its objective, what does it say here? To articulate institutional efforts in the counter-subversive struggle, a special situation, the Police acts there, in view of what? of inter-institutional control, these are the special instances, at the counter-subversive struggle level and they will not be watertight, right? In other words, the police forces must continue acting, but this is based on what? of the counter-subversive struggle; they do not even trust the government anymore, right? in those cases, in general and here, for the specific issue of the counter-subversive struggle. Now, here there is a complete interference in the Judicial Power:

“(4) The Peruvian Government will coordinate with the judicial authorities the creation of specialized tribunals.”

How? If they are courts, they depend on the Supreme Court, they are a Power, but now the special or specialized courts, which is the same thing with a different name, must be formed through coordination. This is what it says. It says:

“The judges [...] must be carefully selected [it refers to the judges of the specialized courts, right?] and trained in the trial of the specific type of crime that generates the action of terrorism [...] the circumstantial evidence [...] the evidence is no longer a problem of the judge, it is a problem of the process [...] the circumstantial evidence becomes fundamental in this type of crimes [...]”

Where are we? Indicative evidence is just an indication, nothing more, it points to something, but here they are telling us:

“[...] the circumstantial evidence becomes fundamental in this type of crimes [...]”

And why not in the others? Because no theory of criminal procedural law is going to accept circumstantial evidence as fundamental, but for the issue of subversion, yes; therefore, those who exercise and those who act as subversion, those who are charged with nothing more than subversion, their rights are restricted, they are discriminated against, the Constitution is violated because it says that no one can be given unequal treatment because of their opinion, because as long as a person is not proven, he is charged, nothing more, and if he has simply helped him to carry leaflets, what if he has helped to carry them? Can even circumstantial evidence be used against him? Simply

discrimination, nothing more. Therefore, this is complicated, this is very serious. Let us continue, it says:

“[...] reason why judges must adapt to the logic of a new and more technified handling of such evidence.”

Right, so judges must be educated, they must be adapted to this logical handling of circumstantial evidence, it is a complete change in the law of the theory of evidence, how can it be? When it says only for subversion, of course, what else, no, that is to say, not for criminals, they steal and it is not valid, and if it is a murderer it is not valid, but for one who is accused of spreading leaflets, it is valid for him, and the judges must be adapted to think in this way. He continues,

“[...] the election of judges and special vocals [...]”

Vocals of the Supreme Court? They also need vocals, don't they? So it cannot be said that they are from the Supreme Court, here it says vocals.

“The election of judges and special members for terrorism must be carried out taking into account the following criteria [...]”

Aha, they put criteria now, is it about criteria? It says now:

“[...] intellectual capacity, moral suitability and desire to work in this field [...]”

What do we have? “Intellectual capacity”, what does intellectual capacity consist of? To adapt to the logic of a new and novel handling of circumstantial evidence, where is his capacity? To do what the government and the police tell him to do and that's it, that's where his famous capacity is reduced to being servile; “moral suitability”. And the other is “desire to work”, oh, how funny! Who will want to work there? Of course, the most recalcitrant ones, right? Well:

“[...] incentives that motivate the magistrates [...] such as bonuses for risk of life, scholarships abroad [...] security for them and their families [...]”

And so on. That is, incentives, what do they want to create? A special judicial system, different, how? What does the universal principle say? Common or private system? Interesting, and here what are they proposing, here it says in no. 5:

“[...] a new penitentiary policy [...] The Peruvian government will proceed to put into practice a new penitentiary policy, which will allow a definition of whether it is convenient to concentrate or disperse those accused of crimes related to terrorism.”

What is dispersion? to be able to control everyone, dispersion to what degree? One, two, how many per cell? Well, they do not have cells now, that is the problem, right? Well, dispersion, what if they send them to barracks? That is what they want, what do they want then? Well:

“It is necessary to avoid that in the detention centers the detainees for terrorism who obey to different levels of commitment with the terrorist groups have contact with each other.”

It refers to the isolation of leaders, of what level, it does not say, all this may be very general but they are giving indications, right, it is saying *“to avoid contact between detainees of different levels”*; that is, what is the essence here? To disperse them and not to have contact, to what degree, for some at least, absolute isolation, how many? It does not say.

“To this end, a specialized technical team with knowledge of the terrorist phenomenon and the organizational structure of the subversive groups could be created, which, once it has received the statement and ordered the arrest by the judge, would proceed to classify the detainee, according to the position he/ she holds within the terrorist organization (chiefs, leaders or members). This qualification would determine the place of confinement and the type of treatment applicable.”

Very well, it qualifies what? It determines “place of confinement”, how is that? The vote it gives? And *“the type of treatment applicable”* what is it going to be, interesting what is here?

“This obviously requires an adequate infrastructure that allows adopting effective isolation measures [...]”

We believe that this must be seen, is it also part of the system? Of course it is part of the system and has to do with the trenches, with the prisoners, etc.

Apart from this we have the Penal Code. The Penal Code is part of your pacification system and belongs to justice. Of course it is part of their system and it has to do with the cases of detention, prisoners, penalties, all of that governs. Genocide:

“Article 129. Whoever, with the intention of destroying, totally or partially, a national, ethnic, social or religious group, carries out any of the following acts, shall be punished with imprisonment of not less than 20 years: 1. 2. Serious injury to the physical or mental integrity of the members of the group. 3. Subjection of the group to conditions of existence that will lead to its total or partial physical destruction. 4. Measures intended to prevent births within the group. Forced transfer of children to another group.”

We do not know if this is wrong, maybe, but we think this is very interesting. (We do not know if it is wrong, there is an erratum ... let's see article 129 ... there are more errata! ... no, this is not an erratum.) Here it says in the “Explanatory Memorandum”, when it talks about genocide, it says (in point 2, when it talks about the special part):

“2. *The consideration of the crime of genocide in the Penal Code reflects the provisions of the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide [...]*”

Right? Very well, but this article says here “*national, ethnic, racial or religious group*”, here it has not put social, it has put racial, so we have to make sure, here there is a typo or they have not put it as a typo, maybe it is in another edition, so it is not the same. Besides, there is something else, it seems to us, it says here:

“*[...] complying with the provisions of the Political Constitution which prohibits discrimination on grounds of sex, race, religion, opinion or language [...]*”

Of course, that is what it says and it is good, it says it in the Constitution, Article 2:

“*Every person has the right: [...] 2. To equality before the law, without any discrimination on grounds of sex, race, religion, opinion [...]*”

well, that is what it tells us. There are a number of things here that can be related, the “1” of the “20”. Right, everything that relates to personal liberty and security. Let us suppose, the laws that they have to take, those things that we are reading that they have to implement, if we analyze them, we have to think about them in the light of whether or not they go against subsection 20 which says:

“*No person may be diverted from the jurisdiction predetermined by law nor subjected to procedures other than those previously established, nor judged by courts of exception or special commissions created for that purpose, whatever their denomination.*”

This is related to this “2. -i”, that is to say that clause “i” of the 20th must be related to clause 2 of the second article, in order to prosecute these things, right? And also genocide. So, here it says “opinion”, and the important thing is that it says so; that, it says, is discrimination for what reason? Of opinion, and it links it to agree on genocide laws, there it is. Of course, this is not the law, but this is the “Explanatory Memorandum” and obviously it is welcome. Well, now it goes like this: “*In this crime the human being is attacked globally and internationally; hence the special importance for International Law*”, of course, that prescription that is imprescriptible, that is what is a common crime, isn’t it, very important?

“*The subject is attacked as a person and it is tried to destroy him in all dimensions, denying him by means of extermination, his existence, position, development and history. All his very personal assets are affected.*”

So all this is genocide within this criterion, that is why it is the idea of the legislator, isn’t it? So, this is what allows us to judge, to what extent? Much

broader than that of the U.N., therefore the question is to see what the declaration says about genocide. It seems to us, then, having seen this, what is left? We as a group can prosecute or not, of course, according to the theory the first social group is the Party, and the Army is also a social group or those that conform them, then we are involved in what they say here, that is why it is key to make sure that there is no mistake. Well, what crimes, it says: "*Killing members of the group*", Barrios Altos, it is already included in this, right? "*Serious injury to the physical or mental integrity of the members of the group*", aha, serious injury, that is, those who beat and torture and harm, fall into this, and the actions that may take place in the prison, if they annihilate, murder? I mean, or let us suppose, they cut off arms, in short, "*3. Subjugation of the group to conditions of existence that will lead to its physical destruction [...]*", trenches! Here it is, that is, "*totally or partially*", and not only that, the prisoners in general are being subjected to genocide, and who is the main genocidal? The President of the Republic, the Minister of Justice, the director of prisons; for all the common ones, of course, because here it says "*Subjugation of the group to conditions of existence that will lead to [...]*", so it is a social group? Of course, isn't it? When they catch the Comrades in prison, the detainees, "the inmate" is what it refers to, "the inmate" is a social group, because the problem is that it is a social group, because, in the conditions in which these people are, they are driven to become imbecilic or die, to become tuberculous, they are already involved in this. "*Measures aimed at preventing births [...]* Forced transfer of children to another group", we are not interested, but here we have three, the first three together, and at this moment there are actions incurring in the crime of genocide and it is a common crime, a common crime! So, we would have to study this and give them, well, in their heads, whether they make observations or do not accept it, that is not our problem. We would have to see now how to deal with Barrios Altos, it is common knowledge that it is against us, who has done it? Let them look for and judge those who are guilty, then! They deny it? Very well that they deny it, but we are going and complaining, is that why they do not say that there is an international Tribunal or Commission? It cannot be that they remain in a long bureaucratic and bogged down process, nothing is lost with denouncing or it can be denounced as genocide according to Peruvian law so that the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights investigates. Now we do have a typical case of genocide, it seems to us that it should be denounced.

Well, as regards terrorism, we already know, in the previous question there are three things they introduce: the one who provokes, that is, the one who executes, then it is article 321: the one who voluntarily obtains, collects,

facilitates, this seems to us to be a very serious thing, this must be analyzed well: and then article 322: *"those who are part of an organization"*, very big, isn't it? It is a complete joke, *"those who are part of an organization made up of two or more persons"*, that is to say that if two are put together we are already making a demonstration, what a clumsy mockery. Well, that is what we should see, it is part of their system, this next to the aggravated penalties, what we should not touch is repentance, we already know what repentance is for, it is used for genocide, nothing more than that.

Seen in this way, then, we believe that the question is that all these provisions clearly show that it is for pacification, it is a whole set of 23 provisions, decree laws oriented to develop, to give a margin to develop their low intensity war according to the mandate of Yankee imperialism; that is what it is. On the other hand, very substantive is also the expression, the concretion of this absolute centralization, it is a step in that direction and it is the negation of the bourgeois-democratic principles of the Peruvian State, apart from the fact that they are systematic violations of the Constitution, disregard of the parliament in terms of exceeding the function of the parliamentary faculties granted, the delegation of functions has been long surpassed, and what is the attitude of the parties on this? Hypocritical and crawling attitudes, above all of open defense of these gross violations of their ordinance; of course, because deep down they are all in favor of fighting the People's War even if they usurp their functions and restrict their ordinance or their office, this is the problem they have. One example, it seems to us, of this is the People's Christian Party (PPC), another is People's Action, they are the most extreme in this, Liberty is also in this direction, the position of Bernales, by simply saying that the problem is that a commission of the executive and the legislature should meet to agree on things and not to produce a clash, is this not what he is saying? Then, mere demagogic posturing in the APRA or the PUM, not to mention the IU, which has also been in the same situation for some time and now, with serious problems that do not even allow them to sustain or defend their positions. We believe that this is what we have to see.

Have they advanced? In the implementation of their plan, in the annihilation, they have not advanced. An expression given by the president of the Joint Command in August, *"very hard month for the Armed Forces"* and the facts prove that every day more and more elements of the members of the Armed Forces and the police are annihilated, their dead and wounded are increasing. The war is expanding and it is seen, developed, noticed, hence its response action. So it seems to us that the very development of the war in the strategic

stalemate has had to pressure them to give this set of pacification laws, the passage from the State monopoly to the non-State monopoly, State restructuring, etc., is the framework they need to apply their low-intensity war.

They are developing, they are organizing themselves under the mandate of the U.S. within the situation of a low-intensity warfare strategy. Here we have an analysis of this, a condensation, there has been a debate on whether or not there is a strategy, some say there is a new strategy, their “opposition” says there is not, the truth is that the strategy exists, it has existed for some time, but it is a badly elaborated strategy, which has given bad results, so this strategy is being reformulated taking into account the experience they have already had and the action of imperialism which is growing in Peru, and mainly the expansion of the popular war, that is what there is. Consequently, we have to ask ourselves what or how to see the low-intensity war. Low-intensity warfare proposes: To link the military to the political; to link military action to social and economic reforms; to develop military action complemented by intelligence, psychological operations, civic action and control of the population and resources; and legitimization, which demands respect for human rights. What Fujimori is doing (following what was done before, especially by the APRA government of García Pérez), is to develop complementary and necessary actions to military action, particularly control of the population (patrols and their armament), intelligence and civic action, within the Yankee imperialist system of low-intensity warfare. The respect for human rights, some sanctioned measures (authorization to prosecutors to enter detention centers or where they can be confined, for example barracks) and declarations, are nothing but “good intentions” to adjust to demands in order to receive the “aid” derived from the “Anti-Drug Treaty”; this apart from the fact that the so-called “legitimizations” cannot be reduced to “respecting rights” (without even considering the bourgeois substance of such rights, their essential formality, their need to violate them to defend their system, especially when fighting against a People’s War). This way of concretizing the counter-revolutionary war ties Fujimori more closely to the military and mainly to Yankee imperialism (“Fighting drug trafficking” gives him “just cause” and “moral base” to the Yankee and imperialist strategy in general, as well as “fighting against terrorism”); and, in turn, is the cause of divergences within the so-called “civil society” (the big bourgeoisie and its lackeys). We believe that this is what we must take into account. What does low-intensity warfare pose? To “*link the military to the political*”, is to aim at giving it a clear political sense. Every war is always politically driven, for the reaction it is the same thing. “*Linking military action to social and economic*

reforms”, this is another question, things that it cannot do, it has no way to do it, neither the means nor the possibility of support from organizations, much less from the party. Then, “*to develop military action complemented by intelligence, psychological operations, civic action and control of the population and resources*”, that is what they are doing, with the limitations that can be seen, but that is what they are doing. And legitimization, the so-called “*legitimization*”, which demands respect for “*human rights*”, the axis of it is rights and of these the formality of respecting life, detention, etc. It is something formal and in the end what it pursues is simply that laws are given so that in their application all atrocities are committed; the human rights organizations are demanding that these rights be respected, but they propose that there be laws, that is what they are doing with these provisions, giving the laws to say “*with the law in hand*”, but does the law in hand justify violation of rights? That is elementary, denial of conquests? They cannot: then, this legitimization is centered simply on human rights, and at the same time it is something that Yankee imperialism is raising, that is why they put it there, it is therefore a restricted form, they do not even see all that is implied in the so-called human rights. That is what low-intensity warfare proposes. So, it proposes: linking the military to the political; linking military action to social and economic reforms; and developing military activity complemented by intelligence, psychological operations, civic action and control of the population and resources: and adding to this the legitimization. Now, what is Fujimori doing? what Fujimori is doing is applying precisely this; that is what he is doing, what is he doing? Particularly control of the population, patrols and their armament, intelligence and civic action. Respect for human rights, some sanctioned measures (like the decree on the prosecutors so that they can enter the barracks), and public statements, that is all he has done; giving laws for the appearance of compliance for imperialism, these are just provisions, as Amnesty International says, there is no sign that they have corrected their violation of human rights, even Amnesty International says so, and not only he says so, Americas Watch says so.

Well, now, “**This way of carrying out the counter-revolutionary war links Fujimori more with the military and mainly with Yankee imperialism**”, we are seeing it. “**Fighting drug trafficking provides ‘just cause’ and ‘moral base’ to Yankee imperialism [...] as well as ‘fighting against terrorism’**”, remember what we have seen in September, that in this way they have a moral base to make a plan and subjugate Latin America militarily, that is what they are doing. But at the same time he says: what Fujimori is doing is causing divergences within the so-called civil society; we are seeing how they

are protesting, they are diverging. What is civil society, it is the big bourgeoisie and its lackeys; why is that? Civil society is nothing more than the laws for the ordering of society, nothing more than civil society; and who makes them, in function of what class, of the big bourgeoisie; then, that is Fujimori's position, that is what he is developing, he is laying the foundations and developing within a strategy of low-intensity warfare, that is in concrete terms, a long road.

We also had to see Legal Decree No. 741.

"Self-Defense Committees are recognized as organizations of the population to develop activities for the self-defense of their community."

The fourth recital says:

"That, in the areas declared in a State of Exception, the Self-Defense Committees have been operating, whose activities, operation and accreditation must be pointed out."

That is one recital, in the following it says:

"That numerous sectors of the population, freely and spontaneously, have been organizing themselves [...]"

Where? It does not say.

"[...] to defend themselves from the aggressions and violence of terrorism and drug trafficking, and to defend the rule of law [...]"

Another recital:

"[...] it is pertinent to develop self-defense activities of the communities in the zones declared in a State of Exception for which purpose the Self-Defense Committees should be authorized to possess and use weapons and ammunition for civilian use [...]"

And that speaks of weapons in the zones of exception. Let's see what it says here:

"Article 1, 'On the Self-Defense Committees', 'The Self-Defense Committees are recognized as organizations of the population that arise spontaneously and freely to develop self-defense activities for their community, avoid terrorist infiltration, defend themselves from their attacks and support the Peruvian Armed Forces and National Police in pacification tasks, whose characteristic is that of being transitory.'"

"Article 2. The Self-Defense Committees shall be accredited by the corresponding Military Commands [...]"

It says nothing more.. Article 3. Their functioning is:

"[...] under the control of the respective Military Commands."

Article 4 reads:

"[...] may acquire by purchase, donation by the State or private individuals, hunting weapons [...]"

Article 5: they may carry out:

“[...] self-defense activities [...] to prevent terrorist and drug trafficking infiltration, defend themselves from attacks [...] and support the Armed Forces and Police [...] in the tasks of pacification and development [...]”

Article 6:

“[...] they will select young people of military age to serve in the Committees for a period of one year, this period being considered as the fulfillment of the Compulsory Military Service.”

Now they have already forgotten, there is no such thing, but what about this, they have already put it here, haven't they, that is to say, *“there are six forms of Compulsory Military Service”*, they have introduced this one of Service in the Self-Defense Committees.

“The Military Commands will establish the adequate proportionality [...]”

And so on.

Final provisions:

“[...] The Joint Command [...] is in charge of formulating the directive on the organization [...]”

The rules will be given by the Joint Command; are they for the emergency zones or not? That is the problem, in the previous article it does not say anything:

“Recognize the Self-Defense Committees as organizations of the population that arise spontaneously and freely to develop self-defense activities for their community, to avoid terrorist infiltration, to defend themselves from their attacks and to support the Peruvian Armed Forces and National Police in the pacification tasks, whose characteristic is to be transitory.”

It does not say anything. Then, this is a problem, that is to say that these Self-Defense Committees would be entering here, which are they? Well, that is what the CFA is going to say now, against the proposals made by the Parliament, they say that they have remained applauding the project of urban *rondas* that is in the deputies, well, that is what should be asked. That is what is important.

H. THE STRIKE MOVEMENT AND THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

Another point that we have to take into account is the strike movement and the people's struggle, because here the problem is that we have to take into account the conformation of the United Front of the revolution, why, because now more with all these serious economic measures, the famine, hunger, etc., then the struggle for daily demands will be strengthened and developed more, and this is intimately linked to the struggle for power, more with

the People's War. So, all these things must be taken into account. We believe that in the document of the Preparatory Session of the 2nd Plenum, from page 215 to page 218, in the part that the PUM calls "The revolutionary situation has entered decisive moments and the risk of reactionary regression", this is criticized, and here we analyze how the revolutionary crisis is, we analyze how the government acts, we analyze how the struggle is taking place in the city, how the struggle is developing:

"The revolutionary situation has entered decisive moments and the risk of reactionary regression." They paint in black; for them the People's War does not count at all, only the mass organizations which are the support of the order and its '*vanguard*', the IU.

They record that there was no spontaneous overflow; they assumed that the political crisis would simply be prolonged; but Fujimori applied his measures and the supposed period of a '*peculiar revolutionary situation*' with great confrontations collapsed. These are digressions on revolutionary situation and revolutionary crisis, an opportunist understanding; the clear and concrete question for Marxism is class struggle, revolutionary situation and revolutionary crisis with the three notes established by Lenin, and whether they are taken advantage of or not is a problem of subjective situation. '*Risk of regression*'; it is to preach pessimism. Today they say '*the peculiar revolutionary situation has accelerated and entered a decisive stage*', and '*there are possibilities of a gigantic social explosion*'; again elucubrations and erroneous understanding of revolutionary crisis. The Marxist question is that, in synthesis, the developing revolutionary situation is becoming more and more powerful and will unfold as a revolutionary crisis, there is an objective basis for the general crisis that this government will stir up more; besides, the influence of the bourgeois workers' parties and the trade union bureaucracies has begun to be reduced, but they still have influence; power still does not slip from the hands of the government, mainly in the capital and big cities, although it is applying more and more drastic measures; and time is needed for the Party to bring together the broadest people's masses at this juncture towards the revolutionary crisis, it has to do with the leap, the key to this is to develop the class struggle of the masses under the slogan of combating and resisting through the People's War, and the main thing to develop the People's War and the New State towards relative stability and in the cities to prepare conditions for the insurrection. Thus, what the PUM maintains is a false vision of reality, it is a pessimistic vision in the face of the failure of its lucubrations. The central power is being undermined in different parts of the country, the vertebration of the masses has a magnificent perspective, its key is People's

War, New Power, linking the daily demands with the three mountains (this is a tactical and strategic condition, because as long as the three mountains are not destroyed the problems of the masses cannot be solved). To unfold towards the revolutionary crisis implies a more acute, complex, hard and difficult struggle, successes and setbacks; militarily it implies how we develop mobile warfare and deal with polarization; within this strategic perspective is the margin of Yankee intervention, directly or through intermediaries. A revolutionary crisis cannot be considered without considering all this, but what revolution we are talking about.

‘Protracted recession’. There has been a key variation since the 2nd World War, the crisis occurs in the second half of each decade and in each economic cycle of gradual decline with its moments of recovery, acceleration, crisis and stagnation, each new recovery starts from a lower level, each time; it is not, therefore, a problem of ‘protracted recession’. The greater fragility of the State, the struggles around the bourgeois-democratic system, the contradictions and the clear signs of fascism, that is what it is all about and not simply authoritarianism. The Peruvian State is faced with the need to restructure itself.

‘The masses are not in conditions to rebel because they have been defrauded’. The usual infamy, to unload on the masses; the masses express pessimism of the present system and optimism of the future, of what they can do with their own hands that vertebrate a great unity of struggle that has an axis, the People’s War. The shock has proven once again the impotence of the General Confederation of Workers of Peru (CGTP) and of the current organizational forms that bind to legality; the existing forms are those that the law allows to drain the struggles and bind the masses; inconducive and passive hunger strikes are armed, while the strikes are carried out with pacifist methods of serfs and are even reduced to the ridiculous spectacle of deputies; the forms and methods of the renegade scabs are those that the system allows. Therefore, the problem is to move the masses from below and develop new forms of struggle and organization, to strengthen the struggles of the peasantry, of the proletariat and the people, of youth, women and intellectuals and of the masses of the regions for their true interests: To link the workers’ struggle to the neighborhood struggle; to repel aggression; to wage combat strikes; to intensify the application of the four forms of struggle of the People’s War in direct support of the struggle for the daily demands of the masses, particularly sabotage and selective annihilation, for in this way we pave the way, in addition, to sweeping away the nefarious legalism. On the other hand, we must combat the stabilization plan as part of the system which aims to restructure the Old State, annihilate the People’s War

and reimpulse bureaucrat-capitalism; to see tactics and strategy, how in each action the two problems move: the daily demand and the conquest of power. The objective conditions continue to develop and the subjective ones are going to be strengthened; let us see how the New State, the Party and the People's Guerrilla Army (PGA) and the masses develop, the latter ask for the leadership of the Party which expresses the maturing of the consciousness of the masses marching towards more developed organizational forms.

The PUM states that there is an '*internal war, militarization and dirty war*' and they enter into contradiction with Fujimori's pacification plan. For us, the war is between two parties: revolution and counter-revolution, Old State and New State, Armed Forces and Communist Party; and 'militarization' is the development of the counter-revolutionary war. On the other hand, at present the government has a persistent link with the APRA and is united with the Army and elements of Velascism; as well as there is resistance and counter-attacks by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie; in the midst of this struggle and collusion are the economic measures and the clash between powers. Although the comprador bourgeoisie has the hegemony and imperialism endorses it, there are positions of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the government itself, protected by groups within the Armed Forces; and there are attacks and counterattacks which will continue to develop, not to see it this way is to have the criterion of a monolithic State, of a super-State.

They maintain that '*a first wave of people's response to the government is coming in the following months, the culminating moment of a revolutionary situation*'. The greater control of power assumed by the Armed Forces, which is still sufficiently strong, allows it to maintain the power of the State and revisionism still maintains influence over the masses. However, the march is towards the revolutionary crisis, it marches in waves and has to do with how the People's War, the Party and the class struggle develop in the city, with how we advance towards the insurrection moving other modalities of action: riot, armed strike, mutiny; we must also shape mass demonstrations and marches of another type. As a consequence of a wave the revolutionary action expands more; but the waves cannot be long and sustained, especially in the cities, the counter-offensive of the reaction comes; thus the action rises more on both sides and we enter a fluid struggle in the cities. There will be many waves and the struggle will intensify, it will be harder and tougher; the people will become stronger and reaction will weaken, but will apply more of its abject reactionary violence: they repress more because they begin to lose. Today the concretion of the strategic stalemate is unfolding. Finally, in these waves there is a margin for the State

coup, more time more time less; it is convenient for us that it be as late as possible. For the PUM there would be, then, a revolutionary crisis in the following months; then they will say that they have defeated us and will again promote the accumulation of forces and wait again; simple justifications of the PUM to persist in the most crass legalism.

They speak of *'crisis of the left and the need for a new vanguard'*. The question is that they are bourgeois worker's parties, supporters of order, unrepentant of parliamentary cretinism; that is the whole IU, including the PUM. We must fight them and unmask them, make them see the responsibility of the IU, their role in the elections, their co-responsibility in this government and how they hinder the revolutionary process; aiming to make them differentiate themselves, to blow off their bureaucratic crusts; in these organizations there are workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and also isolated elements of the big bourgeoisie.

To keep in mind that the People's War and the revolution are strengthened and that we are the axis, the guiding center of polarization; on this basis to develop the United Front of the revolution based on the worker-peasant alliance and integrated by four classes: proletariat, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie, 90% of the population and which should unite all those, persons or organizations, who are really for the revolution and its concretization through the People's War; if we do not see thus we will not develop the third instrument and in perspective of revolutionary crisis we do not contribute to the scabs losing influence over the people and that the Party is center; if we do not act thus, how will we develop the polarization, the dislocation of the masses and the seizure of the cities. See, then, accurately, the importance of the United Front. There is a constant trunk in the revolution: workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie; but the national bourgeoisie has to support the revolution expressing its class condition and develop with it unity and struggle; if we do not act in this way we would be sinning of sectarianism, closed doors is sectarianism, the question is unity and struggle. It will be presented to open doors for a great incorporation to the revolution; thus, for example, the greater part of the intelligentsia is petty bourgeois, and the intellectuals are indispensable for the revolution; they are more complex problems, they involve greater risk of rightism and demand broader work. There will be a version of the People's Consultative Council, but how to concretize the democratic government. For all this, always maintain the hegemony with the worker-peasant alliance and the leadership of the Party; thus the broad people's masses of the United Front will serve to demolish the Old State. This task poses us problems of development,

of militarization, of incorporation into the PGA; for this reason it is key to powerfully strengthen Party politics. It seems to us that this is good, we have corrected this part quite a lot, this must be taken into account.

It is also necessary to think about this, it is good to study Chairman Mao's texts on the Front, particularly we are going to see that he is proposing to study 'On Policy' The question is in this, to keep in mind that the Front in us is not a front, at this moment, to confront imperialism that has entered to combat us directly but it is our front, the front of our revolution, it is in the perspective of conquering power, if we do not also unite the national bourgeoisie how are we going to build the State in the whole country? That is the difference, then, to keep in mind what Chairman Mao says but specified, concretized, starting from the fact that our problem is to march to the conquest of power, it is not the problem of a foreign invasion, it is the Front that we have to develop within the polarization, that is, of two poles, in which we march, one to its collapse and we to the conquest of power, that is the question, that is the essence that differentiates one from the other situations, but, this is extremely important. In synthesis, the United Front is maturing, until today the Front has developed as Power, as we have stated, as Power of three classes: workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie, but now to shape the People's Republic of Peru, we need, it corresponds, that we also pass to the participation of the national bourgeoisie, that is the reason, before we could not do it, it is not that we have not had planning, we have had it and we have formed we repeat, the Power with these classes, just as we have done it in the masses, we have managed the Revolutionary Movement in Defense of the People (RMDP), another is the problem that is posed to us now, we believe that this is in synthesis."

Finally, a point to be highlighted is the border problem with Ecuador. We start from the fact that our borders are going to be the object of serious difficulties, in Peruvian history it is like that, when there are difficulties of crisis, etc. in Peruvian history, it has been decimated in the borders with border problems. Now the question is this, in perspective, they are instruments that the great powers are going to use to strike at the revolution and the New State, that will be when there is already a State, but today what is it, that this border problem is not totally defined and a few months from now they are going to totally question the Rio Protocol, that is what is concrete. In this way there is a problem pending and it will be a greater pretext for them to attack the revolution, I am not saying that if this is solved there is no longer a problem and there will be nothing to do about it, but just another pretext, so this problem should be over, right? But which one is it? They have never defended an inch of land, the

borders of this country have been made by the masses, by the people with their own blood, they have never been, and what they are doing is, either because of economic problems or problems of People's War and the intervention of the U.S., which does not want conflicts, they are not defending the borders. The U.S. is responsible for not having established landmarks on the borders and is against even international States, what they are doing is to accept all the Ecuadorian interference because the U.S. imposes it, we believe that this is how we should put it, we are not terrorists but we point out the problem that exists, as it does not cost them their fatherland, after all they have a pending problem in order to facilitate future aggression. All the things they are doing prove it, well, Peru is really invaded, it is concrete, since the month of August or July the troops have been there, they are occupying a land that belongs to the country. What does not cost them they do not defend, in exchange they want to leave a pending problem for Peru, that is to say that it is necessary to combat the positions of false bourgeois pacifism which do not serve the revolution, apart from this, if the war with Ecuador comes, well, we are going to continue the People's War, are we not? We are.

4. CONCERNING THE 3RD CAMPAIGN TO IMPULSE

The 3rd Campaign is not yet over, and we must complete it with a grand culmination. However, we have begun its summary with an extensive investigation on the key question of the two hills, particularly on the enemy; this is important, it allows us to better arm ourselves to develop the People's War.

How do we judge the development of the 3rd Campaign? With the 3rd Campaign we have reached the highest point of the People's War until today, that is the situation. In the process of the People's War, to analyze the III Campaign demands to make the summary of the whole Plan to Impulse the Development of the Bases centering on the New Power: we must study the three campaigns of Impulsing, mainly from the point of view of the New Power: at the beginning of the Plan to Initiate we had Bases, we passed to Open People's Committees and now we have arrived to People's Struggle Committees, first form of Power in the city. Thus from the point of view of Power we have achieved a great leap; what is our perspective, the People's Republic of Peru.

From the point of view of the development of the People's War, we have developed in this way: from guerrilla warfare to mobile warfare (with four milestones) and we have entered into strategic stalemate. Consequently, the

course followed and concretized, in the Plan to Impulse and its three campaigns, in terms of People's War, has reached the strategic stalemate and entered to promote preparations for the insurrection in cities.

As for construction, the Plan to Impulse has embodied the Strategic Plan of Construction; and, it is applied as a Pilot Plan following the construction strategy: Construct the conquest of power in the midst of the People's War!

In the work of the masses, the Plan to Impulse has generated a leap in the incorporation of the masses into the People's War, particularly in the city, which is taking place with greater intensity in the 3rd Campaign, opening a broad perspective to the United Front of the revolution.

Considering the road of encircling the city from the countryside, the Plan to Impulse, mainly the strategic stalemate and the development of the 3rd Campaign, raises in perspective the question of the transfer of the center of work from the countryside to the city. When should it be embodied? It should be studied very seriously taking into account the practice, the concrete reality, as in everything.

Analyzing the three Campaigns to Impulse, the first generated the Open People's Committees; the second, the strategic stalemate; and the third, the emergence of People's Struggle Committees as the first form of power in the city, a leap in the incorporation of the masses in the People's War, particularly in the city, and the development of campaigns and counter-campaigns, that is, the development of campaigns of encirclement and annihilation. What would be the main achievement of the Plan to Impulse? The strategic stalemate; main because it is the development of the People's War which is the main form of struggle, that is why it is the main achievement. In synthesis, the main achievement of the Plan to Impulse is the strategic stalemate.

This is how these problems of how far we have come are condensed, that is what is urgent; but we still have to continue studying, especially the culmination of the plan.

Peru, November 1991

**MAY THE STRATEGIC STALEMATE
SHAKE THE COUNTRY MORE!**

(GREAT CULMINATION OF THE 3RD CAMPAIGN TO IMPULSE)

1. THE SAME FOUNDATIONS OF THE 3RD CAMPAIGN TO IMPULSE.

Content, strategies, considerations, objectives and our position.

2. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES.

1. THE TOUGHEST YEAR AND THE THREE TASKS.

THREE TASKS, THREE AGAINST AND THREE FOR.

Three Against:

- Against hunger, unemployment and the crisis!
- Against repression and genocide!
- Against the Old State and imperialism!

Three For:

- Land, salaries and national production!
- People's Rights and People's War!
- People's Republic of Peru!

A. SPECIFIC QUESTIONS.

- Counter-campaigns in main and fundamental zones, especially.
- Combat population control in the countryside and the city.
- Unmask the “pacification” and the Council for Peace.
- Against the so-called “violation of human rights” by the Party and the farce of the international “new image” of the genocidals.
- Against the reactionary psychological war.

B. AGAINST IMPERIALISM, MAINLY YANKEE.

- Against the treaty on drug trafficking.
- Unmask and combat the “low-intensity war”.

C. STRENGTHEN THE PEOPLE'S WAR:

- May the strategic stalemate shake the country more!
- Construct as part of the strategic stalemate.
- Merge more with the class struggle of the masses for the great incorporation in the People's War.
- Campaigns in order to unmask, undermine and break the plans of the government and of imperialism; on all fronts, mainly med peasants and workers, and with women, youth and intellectuals. Pay special attention to neighborhoods and slums.

3. TIME SCHEDULE.

4. RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN.

- Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung concerning People's War.
- Chairman Mao: "On Our Policy", 25.12.1940.
- On the Construction of the Party; "Red Flag" No. 46, August 1976, Reconstitution Vol. 2.

In I. The Same Foundations of the 3rd Campaign to Impulse.

Content, strategies, considerations, objectives and our position. Part of the treaty and sanctioned in the Preparations and the 2nd Session; study it in depth for its best application.

In 2. Specific Objectives.

1. The hardest year and three tasks.

Three tasks, three against and three for.

We are raising three against and three for, considering "the hardest year". The three against: "Against hunger, unemployment and crisis!", the second is "Against repression and genocide!" and the third "Against the Old State and imperialism!". Three for: "Land, wages and national production!", second "People's Rights and People's War!" and third "People's Republic of Peru!", means that "Against hunger, unemployment and the crisis!" we counterpose "Land, wages and national production!" to repair well in national production; we are posing a question that points directly to the national bourgeoisie, although not only it is of interest, that is the concrete. "Against repression and genocide!" we counterpose "People's Rights and People's War!" and "Against the Old State and imperialism!", the "People's Republic of Peru!" They are three contradictions, therefore three for, three against.

Specific questions.

"Counter-campaigns in main and fundamental zones, especially", refers to the campaigns carried out by the Party apparatus. "Combat the control of the population in the countryside and the city", this is important because it is part of Fujimori's plan, of the so-called "new strategy". "To unmask 'pacification' and the Council for Peace". "Against the so-called 'violation of human rights' by the Party [...]". "Against reactionary psychological warfare [...]" This is all part of the specifics of the three tasks. The rest is quite clear, we are specifying the Great Culmination at each point.

Against the so-called pacification, campaigns must be carried out to unmask it, to undermine it; for example, cholera is prosecuted in this way: To denounce that it is an expression of the deep poverty of the country and of the terrible health conditions that the Old State, with its consecutive governments,

have generated; but cholera is the direct responsibility of Fujimori, first he did not want to make it known, he hid it and then how he handled the problem, what did he do to solve it? nothing; and now cholera threatens to worsen, it has become endemic. We must show this to them and, the main thing, we must tell it to the masses, in the towns, in the slums; and organize campaigns, agitate, hold marches, go out with the masses, demand attention, that it be solved, that water, medicines, vaccines, etc. be provided, etc., for the poorest, mainly, without interfering in the process, for the poorest mainly, without interference of the armed forces or the police; to oppose the use of the obligations of the Old State, the State, the Church, the repressive forces, the imperialists and their lackeys, to develop their civic action and control of the population as part of their counter-subversive war using the masses as cannon fodder; these struggles we are already waging in some parts, but they must be waged throughout the country. Today the problem of education is getting worse, Fujimori is attacking free education, it is such a live problem, it should be given primary importance. These issues and others serve to demonstrate more and better the expiration of the Old State.

The “Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung Concerning People’s War”, “On Our Policy” and “On the Construction of the Party”, we are going to study them in the rectification campaign. Now we are conceiving the rectification campaign aimed at seeing fundamentally problems of construction; not only of ideology and politics but concrete problems of the construction of the People’s War, of the Front and of the Party. Obviously, construction cannot be separated from ideology and politics, but the center is construction; and we are going to begin with these Marxist texts to handle the principles and analyze how we are applying them today, what questions we have to adjust, develop, discard. Not to forget that we are constructing the conquest of power. This is going to be the basic content of the rectification campaign: construction.

MEETING OF THE CENTRAL LEADERSHIP WITH THE COMMITTEE OF THE PEOPLE'S AID

1992

[...]

PARTY BUILDING

“The correctness or otherwise of the ideological and political line decides everything. When the Party’s line is correct, then everything will come its way. If it has no followers, then it can have followers; if it has no guns, then it can have guns; if it has no political power, then it can have political power. If its line is not correct, even what it has it may lose.”¹

“Since the correct ideological political line is decisive, because our political and ideological line is the correct one, the people’s war, its development, its triumphs and victories are due to the just and correct application of our line. Ideology and politics are the starting point for all our practical work.” (Chairman Gonzalo.)

“I hope that you will practice marxism and not revisionism; that you will unite and not split; that you will be sincere and open and not resort to plotting and conspiracy.”²

“Be a real marxist, not a Khrushchev, a Gorbachev or a Teng Hsiao-ping. In short, not to be revisionists, because they are the opposite of marxism. Today, revisionism is in general bankruptcy, but that does not mean that it does not exist. It exists. Its accomplices are out there and abundant. They are adopting new ways to deceive the class and the people.” (Chairman Gonzalo.)

“The line is a net rope. When it is pulled, the whole net opens out.”³

There is a lot of that in the Committee X. A lot of intrigues and machinations that have to do with these peasant bases that have to be swept away and crushed. If they are communists, we have to keep to what marxism teaches us.

“That is the key to the question, and the political issue is the starting point for our daily activities Chairman Mao tells us: ‘The

ideological and political line decides everything', and that should guide us to analyze our work." (Chairman Gonzalo.)

We reiterate that in the X Committee there is the small group mentality to only focus on local issues.

What is sectarianism? It is a "small group mentality". The application of this policy is not aimed at the interests of the Party, but is against the interests of the people and the proletariat. It has to do with division. It is a contrary line, therefore, we must not maintain this attitude of sectarianism. It is true that here in this Commission, a line contrary to that of the Party does not exist, but there is sectarianism, a mountain of it. The question is whether we have to see the interests of the Commission as a unity or sectarianism.

X are not criticized, it is acting just like the "warlords" of the past? Like a small military dictator? It is clear that there is a lesser leadership in the Committee. Instead of developing the interests of the Party, they are busy with personal animosities, petty intrigues and dirty infighting. We must put the issues openly and find corrective actions, we must crush these attitudes.

If we do not focus our struggle on the interests of the class, of the people, of the poor peasantry, then we generate "warlords", then we are not communists. As Chairman Gonzalo says, people can see that the small town lords with commanding voices are so arrogant that they resemble angry dogs with their tails up.

How does the two-line struggle work here, is it like a personal struggle, down and dirty, full of intrigues and vendettas against the interests of the proletariat? We have to raise the political level, we have to put the problems on the table so that the Party can solve them. We must keep in mind that our bases must be an expression of both the mind and the hands of the peasant and the proletariat. Chairman Mao said that the leadership must keep in mind the above quotations.

A. THE FIVE UNIFICATIONS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

"We must affirm anew the discipline of the Party, namely:

- (1) the individual is subordinate to the organization;**
- (2) the minority is subordinate to the majority;**
- (3) the lower level is subordinate to the higher level; and**
- (4) the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee.**

Whoever violates these articles of discipline disrupts Party unity."⁴

Democratic centralism is key, it is a condition of communists. We must serve unity. The unity of communists is precious, and must be based on principles. Unity that is not based and sustained on principles is not unity. See how much unity has been declared since the early days of the international communist movement, and how many revisionist traitors have spoken of unity. They have spoken empty words of unity to hide their divisive positions. So where is the wrong root for unity not to be established? It is that individual and group interests have been set in place. Unity is based on principles, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism the ideology, around an established plan, the process of the people's war. That is what should unite us, and not personal or group interests.

a. Unity of Understanding

If we do not begin by understanding issues in the same way, then there will be no basis for unification. If we do not understand the same principles and standards, we will not be able to understand the issues with revolutionary criteria. If there is no unity of understanding, then there is no basis for talking about unity. Unity of understanding is the basis for other unifications.

b. Unity of Policy

Political unification is based on unity of understanding. Only by understanding things in a uniform way can we establish a uniform policy. We need a unified understanding of the class struggle, the new power and its defense, and the defense of our politics.

c. Unity of Plan

On the basis of unity and understanding in policy, it is put forward in the unified plan. If there were no uniform understanding of policy, there would be no common plan. Otherwise, each person would establish and execute his own plan, as he sees fit. That is completely inadequate for communists.

d. Unity of Action

After the unification in the plan, we enter the unification of action: a single strike action like a clenched fist, so as not to strike the enemy with open fingers. Based on these four unifications, the fifth unification arises.

e. Unity of Command

Only in this way can we have a unified command, and on the basis of the unification of command, we will have centralization. That is the problem of democratic centralism, and one of the problems afflicting the X Commission is the problem of command. The command has been questioned, it is not accepted, they have not required unification. Ambushes are planned, it was agreed, then, they are not carried out. In reality, there is no agreement because there is no unification in understanding. When actions are not being fulfilled, then the

internal struggle seems, arguments, questioning, not recognition, lack of presentation, insubordinations, command problems. It is a problem of democratic centralism, and the cause of it is the lack of unity of understanding. Are you underestimating the power of our peasant rank and file? Learn and apply the five unifications here!

The five unifications must be understood as well, and all unity has to be based on principles, on established rules and Party policy, and not for each person to do whatever they want.

Party discipline demands, among other things, that the minority subordinate itself to the majority. Even in the event that your opinion has been rejected, you must support the decision approved by the majority. If you deem it necessary, you can resubmit the question of reconsideration at the next meeting, but in no way can you go against the decision already adopted.

We must better learn to subordinate ourselves to the discipline of the Party, which is to subordinate ourselves to the Central Committee, to the agreements of the Zonal Committee. The Right will have to turn, the waverers will have to be crushed.

It is necessary to reaffirm ourselves in the discipline of the Party. We all understand that, clearly, that is not the problem. The problem arises when they do not apply, then we must demand their application, but it is a necessity. The secretary must be firm with their authority. They must apply their authority, not authoritarianism. Have patience in the creative power of the proletariat and the peasantry. Comrade secretary lacks firmness, he is weak, he flutters around, he does not study, but he has the ability to decide, and you, because you are friends, do not say anything, then the Committee will be in a scandal because of the this problem.

We are governed by the principles, then we have to apply. We are prepared to apply them. In the Committee of X we talk about many things that you see, but did not accept, when the unified substance is not treated because there is sectarianism. If we do not consider the unity of what is attempted, each one doing what they want, as they see fit, there is no subordination to the majority, there is no subordination to the Central Committee, it is clear that it does not exist.

Where does this theory of leadership from below come from? There is no submission to the Central Committee in that, the decision and submission in that only comes from the head of that comrade. We must persist in the problem of unity, the problem is not just to say that we will carry out an ambush, the problem is its implementation, and for its political success struggle is

necessary. In the struggle, we have to apply the five unifications, if not, our unity is a sand castle, a formality of unity, pure appearances.

f. In Party Building

To be thoroughly studied and applied (see publications in the *Red Flag*). Chairman Gonzalo proposes three themes in Party building, through the three tasks of marxism, which remain fully valid and applicable today. When we speak of the Party, as opposed to and distinct from the other parties, they remain perfectly valid, and there is no need to add or subtract anything. When Marx says that the Party is to conquer power, what more can we add? Absolutely nothing.

Then, when Lenin speaks to us about the problem of the work of the party in clandestinity, it is, in essence, to hold high the flag of the revolution: it is fully valid, or when Chairman Mao speaks of how to build the Party, the problem of the united front, the armed struggle, etc., which is masterful, it is the problem of linking the Party with the armed struggle, the united front! When he speaks to us of the Party as a compact, selective and efficient organization: all that is needed and great. The contributions of the greatest in the history of three, the three unfading flags, then comrades, a development that makes sense: that is how to understand Party building from the marxist point of view.

If we are fully aware that the ideological and political line decides everything, then we will achieve the five unifications.

In addition, we must address other problems, such as that the Party leads. Why begin with the questions of Party organization? Because there are comrades who are Party militants, but do not apply the principles of the Party, and we see that there are comrades who have a sectarian criterion, which are the attitudes that we must sweep away. We insist that our militants are forged as communists. We must not forget that the incorporation into the Party is an organizational incorporation, to begin with, but the main problem is the ideological and political incorporation, and that it develops in the midst of hard struggle, an internal struggle that takes place in the midst of the class struggle of the masses and the people's war, a struggle to incorporate within us the basis of Party unity, the Congress, the ideology, the programme and the line. That is why the struggle takes place.

B. STALIN'S THESIS

This is important. Comrade Stalin was a great organizer. No one who is a communist has any doubt about that, which is good. I believe that we must

take into account the problem that he taught us, that the line alone is not enough. Comrade Stalin told us: there are some who believe that the line is enough, and that has the best, most beautiful and perfect line is a wonder. That is completely wrong, the line is not enough!

First: there must be a correct political line (the basis).

Second, organization. Why? Because without organizational apparatuses it is not possible to put the political line into practice, even the defined, meaningful and concrete agreements could not become reality. Only with the apparatuses of the organization can the line be put into practice, that is what he taught us. The line is not enough, we have to shape the line in organizational apparatuses. We must consolidate, build the Party, the People's Liberation Army, the united front of the new State (the six forms of power), with solid firmness, a war machine of the proletariat, to organize the masses so that it can achieve can defend the revolution, so that it can fight. What else do we need? A plan!

Third, struggle, it must be organized by means of organizational apparatuses to put the line into practice. Therefore, the problem is to organize the struggle. If the struggle is not organized, then one cannot go on the line to reality, the line is not implemented, nor is the plan.

Fourth, the cadres must be well selected, a good selection of cadres is a necessity.

Fifth, we need to manage the development of the cadres, and guidelines for the implementation of the line.

There are five issues:

1. The line.
2. The organization.
3. Two-line struggle.
4. Selection of cadres.
5. Management of tasks.

Comrade Stalin emphasized to us that we have to consider what Lenin taught on organization and Party building, both go hand in hand, we call it organizational building. Well, all these questions dealt with by Lenin and Stalin can be condensed as follows: what is the main thing in organizational work is the selection of people and good management in carrying out tasks. So, he tells us, this is Lenin's general idea. Lenin's teachings on this question are masterly, it should be noted, why? Because the problems of organization in the Party deserve our greatest concern for the conquest of power. In today's X Committee all the more reason.

Later, Comrade Stalin set out the following, analyzing the situation of the bolshevik party and a number of surviving problems, proposed solutions to get rid of the problems, which tells us the following:

First of all, it is important to draw the attention of our Party comrades immersed in everyday problems of all kinds to the major political problems of national and international significance. In any committee, there is always a mountain of problems, daily problems that if we do not solve them, they bog us down. That is what is in the parties. So, what do we do? We have to get out of these problems, so we do not stagnate, we have to go to the big political problems of national and international character. It helps us if we take into account the problem of the proletariat in the democratic revolution, in the proletarian world revolution. That helps us to get rid of these problems that bog us down without being swamped, marking time, going around and around. That is what we have to look at, which should continue to have primary attention in our work.

Another problem: Comrade Stalin emphasized the important method of instructing comrades on the basis of their own mistakes, that is very important in the work. We make many mistakes, well, what to do when confronted with the cadres? We have to educate them to analyze the problems, the mistakes they have made, the root of the problems and the way to solve them — these three questions: the mistake made, the root of the mistake and the solution.

We are told that the bolsheviks must therefore be stronger, able to recognize their own mistakes, able to count their mistakes made, that is why he says that we must have courage, we must destroy their causes and point out the way to correct them: this is the way the bolsheviks, which is also the way for us to be communists. However, Comrade Stalin says that some comrades think that it is not good to talk about the mistakes of the comrades, since it would diminish their authority and therefore they lose self-esteem, so they hide their mistakes. By using this procedure the cadres suffer, and go deeper into the mistakes!

If someone believes that for the care of the self-esteem of the cadres they have to hide the mistakes, where is that director? To the dangers, to continue to make mistakes, and this gets worse. By hiding their mistakes, they repeat more and more, and not only that, there are new mistakes. So they are accumulating, and where does that lead? It leads to a total loss of their tasks. So the cadres get trapped, their self-esteem and peace of mind remain reduced, because to try to preserve the cadres by hiding their mistakes is a false and

wrong way of doing things. They are therefore not fake, they are ruined, as they get more drowned. That is a bad method. I believe that these things are very necessary to address the Commission to respond to the problems that it has [...]

C. ON CORRECTING MISTAKEN IDEAS IN THE PARTY

“There are various non-proletarian ideas in the Communist Party organization in the 4th Red Army which greatly hinder the application of the Party’s correct line. Unless these ideas are thoroughly corrected, the 4th Army cannot possibly shoulder the tasks assigned to it in China’s great revolutionary struggle.”⁵

The above quote is very good and fits like a glove to our own reality, which is different. Our own experience must be seen clearly, if we do not want to make mistakes in our work. It is not the material basis: the great majority are of peasant origin and others come from the small bourgeoisie, it is very interesting. That is our social basis as well. So this is a good starting document from the first question, which lists the mistakes, and then states the solutions, pay attention to that quote.

In the case of the Chinese, for example: the Red Army was composed overwhelmingly of the peasantry and other sectors of the small bourgeoisie, the peasantry is also small bourgeois. Of course, you already know that, you agree with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. We cannot forget the historical importance of the peasants, it has been considered as a class for a good reason, but it is also small bourgeois, which should never be forgotten, because both are based on small property, on small production. For that reason, I reiterate that the peasantry has an importance due to its enormous political weight. Because the great majority of them are poor, then they become an ally, and together with the proletarian class they make up the worker-peasant alliance. Be careful! We must know how to specify things well, the alliance is not proletariat-peasants-small bourgeoisie, it is the worker-peasant alliance: this shows what part of the small bourgeoisie has reserved for itself because of the importance it has and because of the poverty it suffers, and which carries the banner of the destruction of private property of the land by the landowners, the big property. Of course, that is the reason, we have to know how to place things well, I think if one sees that, one already understands.

“What’s the use if you analyze the problems of the X Committee from a purely military point of view?” There are comrades who consider military problems and political problems that have conflicting interests. You see? For

them it is not a problem when one says that there are even military problems, and here are the political problems. It is not like that at all, but things are presented to counterpose the politics of the military. They refuse to recognize the fact that the military is only one of the means. They think that the Red Army as the white army has only one task: to fight. What happened to the main force of X Committee? Are they not degenerating into these criteria? Here then is a failure crystallized in the facts due to concentration on one task. See “On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party”, point 1: “On the Purely Military Viewpoint”.

a. Regarding Organization

The subordinates of the Red Army organization are in charge of the political work of those responsible for military activities. Why does the army of the political department of this Commission not function? Why do they not function as in other committees? This is the first thing that must work, otherwise how can we establish that the Party is in control of the people’s army, how can its absolute political leadership be exercised? Apparently, one may think it is not the way it is, but the appearance is one thing, this problem must be solved.

b. Small Group Mentality

Those of X Committee worry about the army corps. However, they do not understand the matter, because there is no heavy sectarianism, this is an intense form of “small group” mentality. It is clear that some comrades pay little attention to the directives. Some do not understand the objective conditions, and others do not understand the subjective conditions, that is, there are many poisonous weeds, so we have to pluck. That has its social and root basis, the ideological dynamics that we have been talking about from the beginning.

They say they suffer from a lack of perspective, yes they do. That is what is going on here, why not carry out the detailed work to carry out the ambushes? Why not have the actions carried out? Why not have these comrades fulfill their duties? Why not see the need to look at the details and do the hard work? Why? Because they do not have political awareness of the actions, they do not understand what it does: it is to impulse the development of the support bases. They do not understand that it is about conquering power. Any armed action we do must be planned, if we do not see the importance, we do not plan, we will not act with attention to detail, that is the reason then.

c. Ultra-Democracy

What can we say about the comrades of X Committee? Is the authority to be recognized? No, it is not. But there are also individuals and not authorities. We have discussed this with the committee. The concepts in the documents

you presented are alien to the principles of the Party organization. For example, when an ambush is agreed upon, it is not implemented sincerely, that is what is happening. That has to do with the violation of the principles of the organization.

The X Commission document also criticizes that neither the principles nor the rules are applied. Criticism, instead of being a weapon of combat, is becoming a weapon in personal struggles, a manifestation of individualism, it is necessary to study. Many comrades do not engage in self-criticism within the Party organization, but outside it. They are practicing gossip. How on Earth are we going to put an end to this? In all the apparatuses that what exists, we have to put an end to it. It helps the enemy, the old system. The struggle must be raised within the organization. We have to apply the rules, in order, to cut all the gossip that serves the enemy, that serves as a reaction.

d. Synthesis

We have to correct misconceptions, the application of chapter 24 of Vol. 1 of Chairman Mao's works. Which is an important chapter in which several quotations are condensed. Study well page 258. Here liberalism and other problems are dealt with. These problems exist in the X Committee as in other Party committees. Let these things go on and do not maintain a principled position when faced with these situations, what good does that do?

To give an example: they disobey directives, others focus on personal attacks and seek revenge, others listen to incorrect ideas and say nothing. They speak at Party meetings, without investigating first, without asking questions. All this should be read and studied. For example, to work without discipline and without a plan, isn't that what is happening? Of course it is! This text is very important, this is all the same document, which must be considered for the rectification of erroneous ideas in the Party, as a complement of the "Quotations" in Chapter 24. It is urgent that it must be studied within the framework of the rectification campaign specific to this committee. It does not contradict the general line of the Party.

You must begin to identify, eliminate and sweep away as much as possible ideas alien to the Party, alien to marxism-leninism-maoism, Gonzalo thought. That is what is in unity.

We must apply the "Quotations On People's War", we must find the way to make people's war, according to the position of the Party, according to the positions of the proletariat, and making people's war is our main task as communists in this country. What prevents the war from expressing its power with foreign ideas, with the wrong ideas that must be eradicated by the

rectification campaign? To sweep away foreign ideas with the document “On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party”. Therefore apply the rectification campaign with the two documents that are part of a whole. It is not a question of study, we do not study what is wrong, the problem is to embody what is in conformity, so that it can give power to the people’s war, to arm the head in order to arm our hands, and when one arms with the mind, one is arming the hands to fight better.

[...]

1992

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU

SOME BASIC KNOWLEDGE OF MARXISM

Date Unknown

PRESENTATION

These are comments made by Chairman Gonzalo on the two introductory paragraphs of the document “On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism”, the first of the Fundamental Documents as part of the foundation and taking position in the First Congress of the Communist Party of Peru (CPP). Necessary comments that imply some basic knowledge of Marxism, especially how it is applied to the reality of the Peruvian revolution as part of the world proletarian revolution. That is why, on the occasion of celebrating a new anniversary of Chairman Gonzalo’s birth and the Day of the People’s Liberation Army, we are publishing them as an article prepared by us on the basis of the records of the First Congress. The facts despite such basic and necessary knowledge there is a lot of confusion among the Maoists as a consequence of the action of revisionism and its repercussion in the ranks as apart of the ideological dynamics.

Therefore, this article is a brilliant opportunity of celebration and as a part of it serving the struggle to eradicate the confusions in this respect to have more unity for common action. As for its application to reality, the Chairman himself clarifies: we must bear in mind who the documents are aimed at, we are not in Europe, we are in Peru, one must bear this in mind. The circumstances of a Marx when he had to establish was one, that is why “The Capital” has three volumes plus the two on surplus value, five. Marx said through Engels, that it should not be more than five parts, we should not be guided by different publications but what Marx elaborated. Or Lenin’s circumstance, if one thinks about the Bolshevik Party, one finds that this Party waged a great moment of ideological struggle, long time carried out among people with a wide Marxist formation, cosmopolitan elements, several of them spoke several languages, and it was an intellectuality that as such debated on that level, that is why we have Lenin’s works as they are written. If one compares the texts of Comrade Stalin, they are already much more concrete and if we take the works of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, they are extremely deep, very simple and very clear and do not go into many ins and outs; but if one follows carefully the exposition of the Chairman in his works, one understands clearly, what he wants to tell us. So

one must take into account the concrete conditions in which one operates, not to have them present is wrong.

The document ON MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM in its first two paragraphs(introduction) tells us literally: “In the furnace of class struggle, the ideology of the international proletariat emerged [insurgió] as Marxism, afterwards developed into Marxism-Leninism and later Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Therefore, the scientific ideology of the proletariat, all-powerful because it is true, has three stages or landmarks in its dialectical process of development:

1) Marxism, 2) Leninism, and 3) Maoism. These three stages are part of the same unity which began with the Communist Manifesto one hundred and forty years ago, with the heroic epic of the class struggle, in fierce and fruitful two-line struggles within the communist parties themselves and in the titanic work of thought and action that only the working class could generate. Today, three unfading lights are outstanding: Marx, Lenin, and Mao Tse-tung who, through three grand leaps have armed us with the invincible ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, which today is mainly Maoism.

Nevertheless, while Marxism-Leninism has obtained an acknowledgment of its universal validity, Maoism is not completely acknowledged as the third stage. Some simply deny its condition as such, while others only accept it as “Mao Tse-tung Thought.” In essence, both positions, with the obvious differences between them, deny the general development of Marxism made by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The denial of the “ism” character of Maoism denies its universal validity and, consequently, its condition as the third, new, and superior stage of the ideology of the international proletariat: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, that we uphold, defend, and apply. “We would like to emphasize some points that deserve a small foundation, but we do not intend to make big foundations, not because Marxism does not have them, but because we have to keep in mind who the documents are addressed to.

About the first paragraph:

The ideology of the international proletariat

The quotation begins with the first question, which is the “ideology of the international proletariat”, its definition is understood.

Ideology because there are those who speak of science as opposed to Marxist ideology, forgetting that our ideology is scientific. When Engels dealt with the problem of ideology in his famous letters from 90 to 95 of the last century, he told us that all the classes before the proletariat had an inverted

reflection of reality. What does this mean? Like the camera, it inverts the figure, what is in the head puts it on the feet and vice versa. In this way, every non-proletarian ideology twists reality, deforms it and therefore cannot understand the essence of reality, cannot understand the truth as it is, cannot grasp the contradiction as it is. Therefore, non-proletarian ideologies are deformations, they are not scientific and the root is one, very concrete: they are based on exploitation. Or, in order to generalize and encompass them all, it is sustained by the private property of the means of production, while the proletariat is not sustained by the property of the means of production or by exploitation, its historical mission is precisely to destroy private property of the means of production in order to sweep away all existing exploitation and differences.

The ideology of the international proletariat is scientific

We must claim the term ideology in the understanding that our ideology is that of the international proletariat and only of this class and no other, is scientific. Yes, it is scientific, but it does not take away its character of ideology. When one insists on replacing the term ideology with scientific or science, one sums into bourgeois criteria, into bourgeois philosophy centered on the theory of knowledge, that is it basically. In the 1960s we have again seen very clearly these concerns in the approaches of the French revisionist Althusser, it is he who has insisted on this problem. But what was the basis of it? He stated that the ideology of the proletariat was not scientific and the essence of his thought, of the thought of this revisionist - we must not forget what he is -, according to him is to foolishly distorting the history of the sciences. Althusser thinks that Marxism, condensed according to his revisionist criteria only into scientific socialism, was a new science that had not been philosophically founded, and that he was going to make that scientific foundation. Thus, he accused Marx of having created scientific socialism as a new science but of not having given it its doctrinal, philosophical foundations, to be precise. That is the basis of that criterion. If one analyses the works of this individual, one finds that he is going to propose that the foundation of Marxism carries a fusion of Spinoza's materialism - Spinoza is a Jewish philosopher expelled from Spain whose family ended up in the Netherlands at that time; Spinoza was a great philosopher in his time and for his time, he was a materialist of the beginnings of the bourgeoisie. Althusser considered that the foundation of Marxism had to be made by fusing Spinozism with Kantism which is another bourgeois philosophy. There you can see his nefarious position. In essence, what does it imply? A re-edition of the thesis of the old revisionists, such as Akatsuki, who

maintained that Marxism had no philosophy and that Marxist philosophy was Katims; that is to say, it put bourgeois philosophy as the basis of our conception, after all an agnosticism or an inability to understand.

The ideology of the international proletariat is the conception of the proletariat. It is the ideology of the last class in history, whose understanding of the world is scientific

We need to be clear about the implications of that. See, you take one word and there's a whole background. That's why there is equidistant "ideology of the international proletariat" to express the conception of the proletariat, the last class in history, whose understanding of the world is scientific. That is what we must know in concrete terms. Why the above? So it can be seen that there is a whole foundation in Marx, in Engels, there is a deep understanding, and so one can see what it means to insist repeatedly on certain terms, believing that they will thus raise Marxism, when at the bottom they are Bastard concessions to the bourgeoisie, and this must make us think that we cannot simply repeat all the ideologies that are swarming; first, because it falls into an easy snobbery – it is called snobbery to go after the new, after fashion, a lot of intellectuals do. We, then, have to go to the core of things and grasp the substantive things and have a high critical spirit to judge many or all of the things that are written in the world about our conception. One might ask, what does conception mean? It is the understanding of everything that exists, that means understanding of the material world, understanding of the class struggle, that is, the social world, and it means understanding of knowledge as a reflection of the matter in the mind which is another form of matter. That means conception. What have I just done? Putting Marx's definition of dialectics forward, omitting only the reference to laws.

It is more than 2,500 years of knowledge that has been reworked from the position and interests of the international proletariat

Our ideas of the international proletariat are therefore the product of a very high level of elaboration, they are more than 2,500 years of knowledge that has been reworked from the position and interests of the international proletariat, that is our prosthesis, that is our background: 2,500 years! That is why we always laugh when some cretins and smart alecks say that Marxism has no foundation, that is a frozen thing. They don't know what they are talking about! That could be repeated by an ignoramus from head to toe. Many things can be written and said, the saying is right: "Paper doesn't blush" and stupidity

is impudent. This is what we face when we talk about the ideology of the international proletariat: the elaboration - I repeat - of more than 2,500 years of Western thought, because in that field it has developed without diminishing its universal validity, and elaborated from the position and interests of the working class, of the proletariat what is its strictest name; strictly speaking it is called proletariat and it is international because it is one class, so we have only one ideology.

What is insurgency?

The quotation also says: *insurge*. What is *insurge*? It is linked to *insurgency*, isn't it? It is a fighter, revolutionary break, that's what it means. You see, the term is not for pleasure. Sometimes when one reads, one reads very quickly or writes very quickly. So, you have to repair, you have to know how to read and study and think. The brevity of the documents precisely moves the comrades to think, to develop the initiative of understanding in order to be able to transform.

Why is the ideology of the proletariat all-powerful?

In the quotation it is said: it is all-powerful, of course it is all-powerful because it is true, Lenin's thesis proved to be true.

There are three stages of a dialectical process of development of the ideology of the proletariat

The three stages. The document says stages, moments or milestones, but one is the more precise term and the one we use: stages; then moments or milestones are equivalent but one is the one that expresses it. In the end, in no language and not in ours either, no term, no word is identical to another, they will have similar contents but not identical.

We make a big statement here that is essential: there are three stages, first Marxism, second Leninism, third Maoism that is how it is defined. But notice that it says stages of a dialectical process of development, of course, it is a dialectical process of development. Why is it that way? Because it is a process of knowledge, a reflection in the mind, a reflection of matter in the mind and matter in movement, dialectical, knowledge is so and not by simple method as some say, but by essence, that is another mania. Methodologies another concession to bourgeois philosophy. Is it used sometimes? Yes, but never do Marxists oppose and even less do they reduce our conception to a simple methodology. It is a crass error to get entangled in the theory of bourgeois knowledge.

None of them, neither Marx, nor Lenin, nor the Chairman did it; if they talk about methods they never refer to reducing all Marxism to a simple methodological question, it would lose its quality of conception: being conception has the method as a component, as a derivation; in the end method is procedure, nothing else. That is why it is important to have a dialectical process, because in reality itself and its laws correctly grasped through practice, because it is impossible to have knowledge without practice, it could not be; precisely separating theory from practice is another concession to the bourgeoisie, it is a strictly bourgeois thought, in our case of narrow empiricism of the XVIII century. These are the things that are at the basis of our criteria as communists.

The Manifesto of the Communist Party of 1848 is the first milestone on which the whole great Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is built

It is a starting point of the party "The Manifesto", it is 140 years since its appearance. Before there were attempts, precursors, if any; in Marx' and Engels' own work we have their participation in the League of Communists, but that league of communists was a jumble of different ideas, it was not a clear expression of the proletariat. It is only with the Manifesto of the Communist Party, which is its full name, that for the first time the communists are putting forward their position and programme and it is the starting point, the milestone or the first stone on which our whole edifice is built, all that is great Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; it is the Manifesto that remains a valid flag to communism, not as Khrushchev said: that it had finished its mission with the programme of the CPSU in 1961, taking away our class position and introducing a rotten bourgeois conception, a complete and comprehensive revision of whole Marxism. Therefore, The Manifesto is our starting point, the first milestone, milestone because it will last thousands of years and when there is communism it will still be considered as that great beginning that led to the new humanity.

Only the class struggle can generate our conception, our ideology

It says that it is a heroic epic of class struggle, of course, only class struggle can generate our conception, our ideology; only the proletariat with its great and incessant transformation of the material reality in their productive practice, or in the class struggle whose centre is politics, as the conquest and defense of the power for the class by overthrowing other powers, only as a practice of research, could the class, generating titans of thought and action, shape itself as the great ideology that we always hoist and will hoist. What is

behind this titans of thought and action? It is linked to “three unfading lights: Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung”, a chain of mountains not only has big heights, there are also small summits, medium summits but there are very high peaks. Traditionally, it has always stood out and we also recognize the work of Engels; Engels is a founder of Marxism. Moreover, if we go into these things, it was Engels who first established a scheme of understanding the basis of society, the relations of exploitation, that is to say the Political Economy, it was him, as Marx himself recognized. But it was Marx, with the wonderful talent and capacity of action that he had, who shaped the first great height, especially recognized by Engels; it was Engels who proposed that Marx should base the new ideology. It is Engels who has developed more the philosophical part or has treated more the philosophical part of Marxism. Reason: Marx did not have time to do it; he said that he was working to elaborate a Treatise on Dialectics and unfortunately he did not manage to complete it, there we would have had a great work; but in short, comrades, there are things that were more urgent, he did not have time.

We also recognise comrade Stalin. Comrade Stalin has been a great Marxist-Leninist. Did he err? Yes, but he never sold the revolution, he could have made a mistake, he could not understand; as the Chairman has taught, his mistake started from an insufficient understanding of dialectics, from dragging metaphysics, from this derives the problem of comrade Stalin; but nobody can deny his enormous role nor can anybody take away his condition of leader of the international proletariat for decades, facing for the first time the construction of socialism, without precedent, nor the great effort he led in the Second World War. He has contributions, of course he has them, we cannot deny him, we must know how to value them. So there are already five of them, the three added up to five; but it is a pleiad, a considerable group of great figures, of titans of thought and action. So, this is enclosed. Why have we not listed them? To make it clear that there are three great figures: Marx, Lenin, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, that is the reason.

And how will our ideology develop as a dialectical process?

Our ideology will develop as a dialectical process through great leaps; therefore the document says through great leaps and three great, of course, three great qualitative leaps: Marx, Lenin, Chairman Mao Tse-tung. But these three great qualitative leaps could not be understood without other big, medium and even small leaps and with these incessant leaps, which we do not consider as such because of their elementary magnitude.

That is the fact, that is what this first paragraph implies, all that is its background. It is in this way that a great dialectical process, then, generated by the proletariat producing men that only the class can produce, that we have arrived at Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism. This is how it should be seen. What are we demonstrating once more? There is a whole background of foundation.

About the second paragraph:

Not recognizing “ism”, not recognizing “Maoism”

Marxism-Leninism is recognized as having universal validity but that Maoism is not fully recognized as the third stage. It is clearly said: some simply deny its condition as such, i.e. Third stage; others only come to Mao-Tse-tung-Thought. In essence, what is behind these two positions that are within the proletariat, that are within Marxism? We are not talking about reaction, what is there within the Marxists today, even Marxist-Leninists, what is there? In essence, not recognizing “ism”, not recognizing “Maoism”. The “ism” has a clear meaning; “thought” is nothing but a set of ideas, nothing else, while “ism” is a doctrine that interprets all the matter in its different ways of expression, which are the three abovementioned: nature, society, knowledge and stop counting, there is nothing else.

It is a doctrine not a system

I said “doctrine”. I stress, I did not say “system”. If you say “system”, you would be making a big mistake. Engels has already expressly analyzed this point, but some people who use “system” make a grave error, the correct thing to say is “doctrine”, understanding it as we have just specified it. The innovative mania, is it good? No, it goes against the unique language and there are things that are established in a party way, to have a unique language, that expresses therefore a party maturity, its own language; the rest, the people already express themselves according to the social conformation and the development that each one has, on that we could not enter any more. Do you understand? We cannot enter, they are already the peculiarities of each person. But we have to serve to establish a unique language, let’s leave aside the superfluous manias of originality, because at the end of the day originality is not expressed in terms, it is expressed in discovering new realities, small, medium or large. Is that clear? The originality, that is useless, undermines the unique language and therefore the consolidation, the unification. What did many foreigners and even many

comrades of the Chinese comrades say? They said, it is enough to listen to one Chinese person to listen to all Chinese people. What did they want? Each Chinese to have his or her own line? False originality, that is not originality; originality is the discovery of new things, not the use of terminology, less snobbery, we must guard against snobbery and the intelligentsia is a source of snobbery, of terminology that confuses the language, confuses our unified understanding, apart from the fact that they miserably destroy the language that we speak which is an element in the shaping of the nation. Marxism is not a problem of fashions; there is no room for these useless fumes.

Later on, when Chairman Gonzalo refers to the content of Maoism, in 1. Theory ... The three integral parts, he will deal with why we should say doctrine and not system, and he says so:

Marxist philosophy is the basis of our conception, it is the core of ideology, of course, that is why we cannot neglect it. Lenin drew the great lesson, when he said: "For a time I thought that philosophy was a question of the specialists of the Party in this problem, but the struggle made me understand that philosophy cannot be left in the hands of the specialists because philosophy is the very basis of the Party." And you cannot fight against revisionism if you don't grasp Marxist philosophy, and Marxist philosophy cannot be split into dialectical materialism on one hand and materialism applied to the social world. No comrades, this is a big mistake! Although it was Marx who solved the problem of understanding the social world, he did it by applying dialectical materialism; therefore, it is nothing but the dialectical materialist understanding of society, nothing else, however new it may be. It is a radically new and different creation, so what is new and different is not only the application to the social world. Why do I say this: the bourgeoisie in the eighteenth century through Diderot – that French character - developed mechanistic materialism to its highest level and came to intuit the contradiction, to sense it, but never to understand it. Materialism is very old, comrades, as well as dialectics, are parallel, contemporary in origin, have more than 2550 years in the West, we owe it to the Greeks. But it has been Marx who took the idea as a derivation of matter, fusing dialectics with matter, who gave the great transformation generating the new philosophy, the exhaustive and complete philosophy not in a closed sense, that is why we cannot talk about system, system implies closed circle and knowledge is spiral, everybody remembers what a spiralis, it is not a closed circle and neither the circles that form the spiral are closed, it is not true that, they are not.

So it is the essential point, it is the “ism”

We are told, for example, what is the difference between Mao-Tse-tung-Thought and Maoism? If the same truths are held or defended, why fight for that term? It is not simply a problem of the term; what is at stake is whether it has universal validity or not, and if it is “ism” then it has it, and if it is not “ism” then it does not. That is the problem, so it is not a problem of term, isn’t it? Well, if things were like that it would be identical, why don’t we say then “the international ideology of the proletariat: Marx-Thought-Lenin-Thought-Mao-Tse-tung-Thought”, why don’t we say that if it is identical, it would be logical. Then, why should we use Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-tung-Thought, if it is the same let’s say Marx-Lenin-Mao-Tse-tung-Thought. Would it be correct, deeply absurd, it would be to deny its universal character. What is the aim? To deny the universality of Chairman Mao Tse-tung’s development, that’s it. That is why we say these two positions are basically against the same, in essence; with differences, of course they have them because one thing is only to reach to Marxism-Leninism and another thing the RCP reached to the previous more Mao-Tse-tung-Thought (to later adopt the term Maoism and pass soon after to deny everything; note of the editors); but in essence it is the same and here what interests us are the substantive questions, the essential.

As for the Introduction. As comrades know well, this document is based on what the Central Committee aired in 82 and 84 in a general way, complete, the whole problem means and specifically aired in many occasions in the party. From the beginning we have used an introduction taking two questions: an accurate thesis of the great Lenin and a great defense of Leninism made by comrade Stalin. That is why Stalin cannot be denied or condemned to hell. Because the fact that he said that we were entering Leninism and defended it as he did and imposed it on the world, is enough merit, or do you think it was not enough?

We have taken these two issues. Here what deserves explanation is that Lenin said: as the revolution goes into the East it expresses specific conditions. These are not strictly the words of the Great Lenin but this is his idea. He was telling us: the revolution in Russia expresses peculiarities, apart from the fact that it takes place in a very specific situation: the First World War, the final part of it, the defeat of the tsarism in the hands of Germany, the unsatisfied needs of the peasant who was asking for land in a country that, although it was a prison of people because it had reached imperialism, had a wide feudal base that Lenin masterfully synthesizes by saying “land concentrated in very few hands and a huge mass with few or no lands”, without going

into figures that he handles extraordinarily. In this way he tells us: the revolution in Russia does not deny the truth established by Marx as the law of the revolution. He does not deny, what he is doing is simply seeing the peculiarities, the specifics; and he says the revolution as it goes into the East shows that peculiarity, whether we like it or not, that is so. The incomprehension of the European social democracy, of the European opportunists, mercenary writers of the European reactionaries, condemned that revolution, they even called it, being reactionary, not Marxist. Brave defenders of Marxism! What did they say, then, about that revolution: it is an eastern despotism, as it has always been seen in the East, and with that, they had already solved the problem; they said: a mass of ignorant people, how can they make a socialist revolution? Thus they said, abounding in their “arguments”. How did the Great Lenin respond: “In which text is it that we must first educate before conquering power for the class, before establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, in which document is it? Is it expressly forbidden in Marx or Engels that one should conquer power and then educate? There is no such prohibition, so what is the cry about?” This is how he puts it. What happens is that those who are burdened by bourgeois liberalism do not understand what is new and how it is expressed, because if we are going to talk about it, what proletarian revolution have they made? The Europeans are clucking a lot, the imperialist countries or the so-called advanced countries are clucking a lot, and they say that the mistake of the revolution is that it has taken place in backward peripheral areas such as Russia and China. Well, where has the proletarian revolution been made in the West, when has it been made, why has it not been made, if they are so enlightened, because enlightened they are, we have to admit, they are, but it is not enough to make the revolution. The Great Lenin, going deeper into this, what he was telling us: wait, you will see the revolution in the East and when you see it, your surprise will be huge, immense, you will fall back! - using our turn, that is: you are going to fall backwards! - Didn't he say that? Moreover, to the comrades from the East, whom he gathered, what did Lenin put forward: we, he said, including him, know the revolution in the capitalist countries but not in the backward countries under imperialist domination; that is your task, it is pending, you have to solve it without forgetting that you are communists and that you must organize as such, as a Party, linked to the Communist International. Were not these his words?

Why should this question be highlighted? Because it is obvious that the Chinese revolution that has been generated by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, through the proletariat itself, is taking place in the East, or is it not the East? Is

what Lenin said fulfilled or not? Of course it is fulfilled! And from there, then, what is implied? That the same thing that happened to Lenin is happening to the Chairman: The usual cry of the “deep” connoisseurs of Marxism, of the intellectuals who are burdened with bourgeoisie and parliamentary cretinism, of the feathered ones of reaction, that is.

As for comrade Stalin, what was his work that interests us in this point? In Russia itself it was said: Leninism is true, but for Russia, because the core, the fundamental thing is the role of the peasantry. Comrade Stalin, clearly then, says: Consequently, it is not the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, Lenin only rules in Russia and it is not universal, Leninism is specifically Russian, and it is an infamy to say it, because Lenin was precisely the one who has emphasized the importance of the dictatorship of the proletariat, he was. You will say, but Marx already raised. In Marxism, any elementary history of it shows you, the great truths have to be reiterated from time to time because they are forgotten, dusted or simply invoked; just as the great characters of history, Lenin said, are made icons. An icon here in Peru is Mariátegui: incense is poured on him, nothing else. It was a hard fighting Russia, particularly against Zinoviev.

From this, we derive: “Today, Maoism is facing similar situations and as always the new and Marxism have made their way through struggle, Maoism will also impose itself and be recognized.” As the Chairman said: “Marxism has never taken a step in life but in the middle of struggle, it will never take a step.” And a great qualitative leap, great as he has given, a new stage, will it be easily accepted? No, it has to be resisted, denied, questioned, interrogated, but behind all these interrogations there are positions of denial, reduction, minimization or whatever, but it is, that is what is interesting. Comrades, Marxism gives us weapons! They have had the sagacity to arm us for the future and to answer questions, questions that are asked and will be asked in the future; they have armed us. That is the reason of the introduction, it has a meaning.

CHAIRMAN GONZALO'S SPEECH

1992

Comrades of the Communist Party of Peru!
Fighters of the People's Guerrilla Army!
Peruvian People! :

We are living historic moments, each of us knows that this is the case, let us not fool ourselves. In these moments we must strengthen all forces to confront difficulties and continue carrying out our tasks. And we must conquer the goals! The successes! The victory! That is what is to be done.

We are here as children of the people and we are fighting in these trenches, they are also trenches of combat, and we do it because we are Communists! Because here we are defending the interests of the people, the principles of the Party, and the People's War. That is what we do, we are doing it and will continue to do so!

We are here in these circumstances. Some think this is a great defeat. They are dreaming! We tell them to keep on dreaming. It is simply a bend, nothing more, a bend in the road! The road is long and we shall arrive. We shall triumph! You shall see it! You shall see it!

We should continue the tasks established by the III Plenum of the Central Committee. A glorious Plenum! You should know that these accords are already being implemented and that will continue. We shall continue applying the IV Plan of Strategic Development of the People's War to Conquer Power, we shall continue developing the VI Military Plan to Build the Conquest of Power, that will continue; that is a task! We shall carry it out because of what we are and because of the obligation we have with the proletariat and the people!

We clearly say that today the democratic road has begun to develop as a road of liberation, as a road of people's liberation! That is the circumstance in which we are unfolding. We should think with a great sense of history, we must stop closing our eyes. Let us look at reality, let us look at the history of Peru. Let us look at the last three centuries of Peru. We should think about it. Look at the 18th century, look at the 19th century, look at the 20th century and understand them! Those who don't understand them are going to be blind and the blind don't serve the country, they don't serve Peru!

We believe that the 18th century was a very clear lesson. Think about this. There was a dominator. It was Spain and where did that bloodsucking domination bring us? To a very profound crisis, as a consequence of which Peru was divided. From there come the origins of today's Bolivia. It is not our invention but facts.

Fine, the last century, English domination. Where did their rivalry with France take us? To another big crisis: 70 of the past century. The result? War with Chile. We must not forget it! And what happened? We lost territory. Our nation suffered a schism despite the blood shed by heroes and the people. We must learn from this!

The 20th century. How are we doing? In the 20th century we are dominated by imperialism, mainly North American, this is real, everyone knows it. And where has it brought us? It is reminiscent of the 1920's, here and now, in the worst crisis of the entire history of the Peruvian people. Learning the lesson of past centuries, what can we think? Once more the nation is at risk, once more the republic is at risk, once more our territory is at risk. It can easily be lost, and by interests. This is the situation; this is where they have brought us. But we have a fact, a Peruvian revolution, a People's War, and it is advancing, and will continue to do so. Where have we gotten with this? To a Strategic Equilibrium. And we must understand this well. It is a Strategic Equilibrium! It solidifies itself in an essential situation. What have 12 years served for? To plainly show before the world and mainly before the Peruvian people, that the Peruvian state, the old Peruvian state, is a paper tiger that is rotten to the core. That has been proven!

Things being that way, let us think of the danger that the nation, that the country, can be divided, that the nation is at risk. They want to dismember it; they want to divide it. Who wants to do this? As always, imperialism, those who exploit, those who rule. And what should we do? What is our task now? It is appropriate that we push forward the People's Liberation Movement and that we develop it through the People's war because the people, always the people, have been the ones who defend the country, who have defended the nation.

It is time to form a People's Liberation Front, it is time to form and develop from the People's Guerrilla Army a People's Liberation Army. That is what we must do and we shall do it! That is what we are doing and that is what we shall do! You gentlemen shall be witnesses.

Finally now, listen to this. As we see in the world, Maoism is marching unstoppably to lead the new wave of world proletarian revolution. Listen well

and understand! Those who have ears, use them. Those who have understanding - and we all have it - use it! Enough of this nonsense. Enough of these obscurities! Let us understand that! What is unfolding in the world? What do we need? We need Maoism to be incarnated, and it is being incarnated, and by generating Communist Parties to drive and lead this new great wave of the world proletarian revolution that is coming.

Everything they told us, the empty and silly chatter of the famous "new age of peace." Where is it now? What about Yugoslavia? What about other places? That is a lie; everything became politicized. Today there is one reality; the same contenders of the First and Second World War are preparing a new Third World War. We should know this and we, as the children of an oppressed nation, are part of the booty. We cannot consent to this! Enough imperialist exploitation! We must finish with them! We are of the third world and the third world is the base of the world proletarian revolution, with one condition, that the Communist Parties brandish and lead! That is what we must do!

We believe the following. Next year will be the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Chairman Mao. We must celebrate these 100 years! We are organizing it with the Communist Parties. We want a new manner, a celebration which will be the conscious comprehension of the importance of Chairman Mao in the world revolution and we shall begin the celebration this year and we shall finish it the next. It will be a grand process of celebration. I want to take advantage of this opportunity to salute the international proletariat, the oppressed nations of the world and the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!
THE PEOPLE'S WAR WILL INEVITABLY PREVAIL!
WE SALUTE FROM HERE THE FUTURE BIRTH OF THE PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF PERU!

We say: GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM!
And finally we say:
HONOR AND GLORY TO THE PERUVIAN PEOPLE!